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"FIRE TO THE PAN": JOHN BUNYAN'S EXPLOITATION OF LITERARY TRADITION IN *THE LIFE AND DEATH OF MR. BADMAN*.

BY

©

JAMES GREGORY RANDALL

A THESIS
SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY.

DEPARTMENT OF ENGLISH

EDMONTON, ALBERTA

FALL, 1991

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For Sandy, my friend and fellow sharer in the Grace of
Life, and for our children, Jillian and Kara, who fill our
pilgrimage together with much joy.

ABSTRACT

Utilizing the conduct book, dialogue, exemplum, judgment book, picaresque, and posthumous, Bunyan portrays in Mr. Badman the plight of sinners and their pathetic state in the face of impending judgment. Presenting by negative example the way of Christian holiness, Bunyan teaches the reader to be sympathetic to the human condition, and to understand that holiness is impossible without grace.

Practising the conduct-book habit of paying close attention to the circumstances and motives that shape and activate individual actions, Bunyan pushes narrative towards mimesis, plot development, and characterization. Convinced of the verities of Calvinism, Bunyan uses the dialogue to teach, perform dramatic interactions between characters, and explore cases of conscience. The random, episodic narrative reflects a life of iniquity, demonstrating the necessity of repentance.

In retrospect, one realizes it is the dialogue between Wiseman and Attentive which unifies the narrative, imposing both the pattern of birth, life, and death and the Calvinist doctrine of predestination upon Badman's existence. Bunyan utilizes the dramatic incident, arresting language, and vivid imagery of the exemplum to encourage saints and forewarn sinners. Telling simple stories, Bunyan derives moral lessons from earthly things, fixing narrative upon a

dramatic moment of intense conflict, where vigorous dialogue and intense imagery predominate. Demonstrating the providence of God in judgment stories, Bunyan asserts that the saints will ultimately be vindicated for their stalwart faith. As a picaresque fiction, *Mr. Badman* is episodic, reflecting the chaotic nature of life without divine order, purpose, and stability. *Mr. Badman* is also a meditation on Death, Judgment, Heaven, and Hell, heightening the gravity of the exposition, and making Bunyan's call to repent even more urgent.

Bunyan's humanity is found even in *Mr. Badman*, the blackest of his major works. His morality, though fixed in Christian faith and strict Calvinist doctrine, is surprisingly tolerant, and one learns from this book of judgment to be slow to judge, to realize that all is not what is seems to be, and to understand the importance of treating all people with dignity, regardless of their predestined fate.

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INTRODUCTION

Warning the saints to be faithful in all that they say and do, John Bunyan wrote *The Life and Death of Mr. Badman* (1680), not as a sequel to Christian's adventurous pilgrimage to the Celestial City, but as a contrast, graphically portraying the plight of sinners and their pathetic state in the face of impending judgment. Bunyan describes his motive, method, and message for *Mr. Badman* in "The Author to the Reader":

> *As I was considering with my self, what I had written concerning the* Progress *of the* Pilgrim *from this* World *to* Glory; *and how it had been acceptable to many in this Nation: It came again into my mind to write, as then, of him that was going to Heaven, so now, of the Life and Death of the Ungodly, and of their travel from this world to* Hell. *The which in this I have done, and have put it, as thou seest, under the Name and Title of* Mr. Badman, *a Name very proper for such a Subject: I have also put it into the form of a Dialogue, that I might with more ease to my self, and pleasure to the Reader, perform the work*.

> *And although, as I said, I have put it forth in this method, yet have I as little as may be, gone out of the road of mine own observation of things. Yea, I think I may truly say, that to the best of my remembrance, all the things that here I discourse of, I mean as to matter of fact, have been acted upon the stage of this World, even many times before mine eyes*.
>
> *Here therefore, courteous Reader, I present thee with the Life and Death of Mr*. Badman *indeed: Yea, I do trace him in his Life, from his Childhood to his Death; that thou mayest, as in a Glass, behold with thine own eyes, the steps that take hold of Hell; and also discern, while thou art reading of Mr*. Badmans *Death, whether thou thy self art treading in his path thereto*. (*Badman* 1)

Bunyan's motive is didactic, for he wants the reader to examine his own life in the context of Mr. Badman's life and death to see whether or not he is treading in his footsteps. Bunyan's method is literary; purposefully using the dialogue, he employs a genre well suited for conveying a message of judgment to the sinner and mercy to the saint. As a travel narrative of the Ungodly and their journey to Hell, Mr. Badman is episodic, reflecting--in Bunyan's view--the chaotic nature of life without divine order, purpose, and stability. Mr. Badman is also stationary, paralleling the protagonist's inveterate nature. He is rooted in sin and immovable, and the sin which holds him fast is disturbingly common: lying, cheating, stealing are just three of the many in his life which are also found to the shame and disgrace of the Gospel in the lives of the "saints."

Suggesting that the sins which characterizes Badman's life are also found in varying degrees among the lives of those professors of the faith to whom this book is directed, Mr. Badman excoriates the hypocrisy of the faithful. In his narrative, Wiseman attempts to impose some sort of order upon Badman's life and death, but since the narrative lacks the purpose of the Gospel, Wiseman fails. Sin is destructive and chaotic, and if the saints are to make sense of their existence, they need to live holy lives. Badman's life, as U. Milo Kaufmann interestingly describes it, is "ad hoc choice writ large" (Conventicle and Parnassus 186), and defies Wiseman's attempt, in spite of Attentive's promptings, to stay focused upon the immediate goal--a description of Badman's death. Wiseman's failure to tell the story is not an indication of Bunyan's inability to maintain a sustained narrative, but a reflection of Badman's frenzied and turbulent life. The random, episodic narrative reflects a life of iniquity, demonstrating the necessity of the saints to rid themselves of sin, and live holy lives. In retrospect, one finally realizes it is the expository and descriptive dialogue between Wiseman and Attentive which unifies the narrative, imposing both the pattern of birth, life, and death and the Calvinist doctrine of predestination upon Badman's sordid existence.

Bunyan's narrative method parallels Badman's haphazard experience. He is rooted in the things of this world, and has little concern for anything else. He is so blinded by immediate detail that he cannot see his world in its larger perspective, controverting the very structure that Wiseman wishes he could impose upon his account of Badman's life. Wiseman tries to place Badman's immediate experience into the eternal, transposing the particular into the universal, by concentrating on the life of one man and giving an account of his way in a world fraught with peril. In his own life, however, Badman consistently resists any sort of "contextualizing," and his death, as quiet as a lamb's, defies superficial platitudes and trite answers to important questions.

In Mr. Badman, the focus is not so much upon the chaotic life of the protagonist as it is upon the didactic discourse which Mr. Wiseman and Mr. Attentive construct and attempt to apply to Badman's life. The incidents in Badman's life are greatly crowded in upon by the moralizing, the digressions, and the *exempla* which Bunyan includes in the narrative. In spite of these interludes, the precise nature of Badman's death is offered as the reward for the reader who stays the course, the implication being that judgment will finally be revealed.

Written in the form of a dialogue, replete with didactic commentary and attempting to sustain a "steadily unfolding biographical narrative" (Salzman 212), *Mr. Badman* is a storehouse of popular seventeenth-century literary traditions which Bunyan deploys in his frontal assault against the wickedness that is causing England to shake and totter. Reiterating what Forrest and Sharrock have to say about the various literary traditions that Bunyan utilizes in *Mr. Badman*, Paul Salzman draws attention to the conduct-book, dialogue, *exemplum*, judgment-book, picaresque, and posthumous in his recent *Anthology of Seventeenth-Century Fiction* (1991). Because of the mysteries of predestination, election, and reprobation, Bunyan can only suppose

> *that this shot will light upon many, since our fields are so full of this Game, but how many it will* kill *to Mr*. Badmans *course, and make alive to the* Pilgrims Progress, *that is not in me to determine*. (*Badman* 2)

Fully conscious that he will never know whether or not he has bagged his quarry, Bunyan, full of faith and conviction, has "put fire to the Pan," and doubts "not but the report will quickly be heard" (Badman 2).

As a conduct-book, making plain the Calvinist doctrine of sanctification in which good works are a natural expression of faith, Mr. Badman teaches by negative example. It attempts as a dialogue between two interlocutors to make sense of the often confusing and contradictory experience of saints and sinners, living in a fallen world where sin seems to reign unchallenged and divine judgment is rarely revealed. Bunyan's effort to encourage the saints is seen in his use of ordinary stories taken from common experience to illustrate profound spiritual truth; his effort to demonstrate the providence of God is also seen in his use of exempla or judgment stories that display in definitive terms the judgment of God. Mr. Badman as a picaresque biography represents on one level Wiseman's failed attempt to give purpose to and make sense of Badman's life, spanning his childhood, adult life, and death. On another level, it cautions the saints not to expect God's judgment to be revealed in every case, and warns sinners that they will eventually receive their just deserts. As well, Mr. Badman is a meditation upon the Four Last Things, Death, Judgment, Heaven, and Hell. Placing such a meditation within the context of a reprobate's death and damnation, Bunyan heightens the gravity of the exposition, making his call to repent even more urgent than before.

From all the literary traditions that Bunyan assimilated in Mr. Badman, there is clear evidence that he knew their conventions well. He wrote a conduct book, preached sermons employing stories from John Foxe, transforming them into exempla, and borrowed judgment stories from Samuel Clarke. Bunyan also knew the dialogue as manifested in Arthur Dent's The Plaine Mans Pathway to Heaven, and he knew the posthumous as well, having written One Thing is Needful (1665). Concerning the picaresque, Bunyan made judicious use of its conventions, deftly manipulating its form to suit his didactic intent--the portrayal of Mr. Badman as a sinner well-deserving the judgment of God. Edifying the saints and warning sinners, Bunyan brings to bear his milieu and his observations of society upon his writing. He is not as ignorant and as unlettered as some critics in the past have asserted. In many places throughout his miscellaneous and major works, Bunyan writes of the books that he has read, openly acknowledging the ones he most enjoyed. In A Few Sighs from Hell (1658), he confesses much to his shame how little he cherished the Scriptures while a youth:

> the Scriptures thought I, what are they?
> a dead letter, a little ink and paper,
> of three or four shillings price. Alas,

> what is the Scripture, give me a Ballad, a Newsbook, George on horseback, or Bevis of Southhampton, give me some book that teaches curious arts, that tells of old fables; but for the holy Scriptures I cared not. (MW 1: 333)

In another equally famous passage found in Grace Abounding, Bunyan describes the dowry his first wife brought to their marriage: "we came together as poor as poor might be, (not having so much houshold-stuff as a Dish or Spoon betwixt us both), yet this she had for her part, The Plain Mans Pathway to Heaven, and The Practice of Piety, which her Father had left her when he died" (GA 8). Bunyan also describes his response to Martin Luther's commentary on Galatians:

> Now I was pleased much that such an old book had fallen into my hand; the which, when I had but a little way perused, I found my condition in his experience, so largely and profoundly handled, as if his Book had been written out of my heart. (GA 40-41)

In all of these acknowledgements, Bunyan reveals that, however circumscribed his breadth of reading is, he is not unread, nor is he untutored. Bunyan's cautious attitude toward reading is expressed in Mr Badman where unprofitable reading is included as one of the sins that Mr. Badman practises. His reading includes that which Wiseman describes "as beastly Romances, and books full of Ribbauldry, even such as immediately tended to set all fleshly lusts on fire" (Badman 40), and are a prologue to the sexual sins in which Badman later becomes entrapped. Bunyan's use of popular religious works also reveals that what he read, he read well, and was able to adapt its conventions to his own work, while preserving his own artistic control and didactic integrity.

Q.D. Leavis's controversial remark that it "is not fantastic to assert that it was the Puritan culture as much as Bunyan that produced Pilgrim's Progress" (97) has been responded to by both Roger Sharrock and L.D. Lerner who assert that we and our works are all products of our culture; however, in Bunyan there is something that sets him apart from the thousands of other writers whose works were "created" by the Puritan culture and which are now deservedly forgotten. This distinction is the humanism of his art and faith which "was in accord with the culture, the vigorous speech, and living belief of the country" (Hussey 330).

Bunyan's humanity is found even in Mr. Badman, the blackest of his major works. His morality, though firmly fixed in Christian faith and strict Calvinist doctrine, is surprisingly tolerant, and one learns from this book of judgment to be slow to judge, to realize that all is not what is seems to be, and to understand the importance of treating all people with dignity, regardless of their predestined fate.

CHAPTER ONE

UNHOLY LIVING AND UNHOLY DYING: MR. BADMAN AND THE CONDUCT-BOOK

John Bunyan's The Life and Death of Mr. Badman presents by negative example the way of Christian holiness. While listening to Mr. Wiseman's exposition, Attentive is taught the principles of Christian morality, and in the narrative and the moralized anecdotes, he is shown an array of sins and numerous cases of conscience where absolute truth is difficult to ascertain. Through Wiseman's coaching, Attentive discovers the importance of paying close attention to the circumstances and motives that surround each ethical dilemma. He also learns that he needs to be as wise as a serpent yet as innocent as a dove, while finding his way as a pilgrim through the Vanity Fair of Badman's England. The negative casuistry of Mr. Badman teaches the reader to be sympathetic to the human condition, and to understand beyond all dispute that the way of holiness is impossible without the grace of God.

By the time Bunyan came to write Mr. Badman, he knew well the popular tradition of English conduct-books. His contribution to the genre, Christian Behaviour (1663), demonstrates his concern that the liberty of Christian faith and grace not degenerate into antinomian error. Bunyan explains his purpose for writing another manual of devotion in Christian Behaviour's "Epistle to the Reader," stressing that "though we are justified, (Rom. 3. 24, &c.) *freely by Grace* through Christ before God, yet we are justified before men (Jam. 2. 18) by our works" (*Miscellaneous Works* 3: 9).[1] Like such casuists as William Perkins, Richard Baxter, Jeremy Taylor, and Lewis Bayly, Bunyan believes that the life of holiness results from the work of grace within the individual. One of the guiding principles of Bunyan's casuistry that is demonstrated throughout *Mr. Badman* is aptly expressed in *The Barren Fig-tree* (1673) where Bunyan makes the point that while good works cannot in themselves redeem man, they are a vital evidence of salvation:

> God doth therefore look for such fruit as is worthy of his *Name*, as is meet for *him*; as the Apostle saith, *We should walk worthy of God*; that is, so that we may shew in every place, that the presence of God is *with* us, his fear *in* us, and his Majesty and Authority upon *our actions*. Fruits *meet* for him, *such* a dependence upon him, *such* trust in his word, *such* satisfaction in his presence, *such* a trusting of him with all my concerns, and *such* delight in the

---

[1] Future references to *The Miscellaneous Works of John Bunyan* (1976-) will be cited in the text as *MW*.

> enjoyment of him, that may demonstrate that his fear is in my heart, that my Soul is wrapt up in his things, and that my Body, and Soul, and Estate, and all, are in truth, through his Grace, at his dispose, fruit meet for him. (MW 5: 27)

Bunyan is primarily concerned with the life believers lead. He pleads with the Christian reader in Mr. Badman to live worthy of the Christian profession:

> Christian, make thy Profession shine by a Conversation according to the Gospel: Or else thou wilt damnifie Religion, bring scandal to thy Brethren and give offence to the Enemies; and 'twould be better that a Millstone was hanged about thy neck, and that thou, as so adorned, wast cast into the bottom of the Sea, than so to do.
>
> Christian, a Profession according to the Gospel, is, in these dayes, a rare thing; seek then after it, put it on, and keep it without spot; and (as becomes thee) white, and clean, and thou shalt be a rare Christian. (Badman 10)

Through his work, Bunyan reserves the most scathing remarks for those hypocritical professors who do not practise what they preach. While Mr. Badman is damned for his "wicked life, and fearful death" (Badman 16), the sins of the godly are far more insidious. Consequently, Bunyan takes great pains to stress the importance of good works as the natural result of salvation. In Mr. Badman, Bunyan celebrates the marvel of godly lives when Wiseman prays:

> God give long life to them that are good, and especially to those of them that are capable of doing him service in the world. The Ornament and Beauty of this lower World, next to God and his Wonders, are the men that spangle and shine in godliness. (Badman 14)

The emphasis that Bunyan places in the doctrine of sanctification is by no means uncommon in the seventeenth century. Perkins, Taylor, and Baxter also worked to popularize that Calvinist doctrine, thus securing the regard by continental theologians for England's contribution to the doctrine of sanctification.

William Perkins, the great Elizabethan theologian "who taught family and social duties and ministered to the individual conscience" (Bush 216), describes the process of sanctification where the good works of faith are manifested more clearly and consistently within and through the life of the believer. The desire to resist sin, according to

Perkins, is brought about by the Holy Spirit, resulting in the holy life:

> Resistance is made by the desire of the Spirit, which worketh good motions and affections in the faithful and driveth forth the evil. The preservatives are, whereby men are strengthened in resisting: to account no sin light or small; to avoid all occasions of sin--to these rather agreeth the proverb used of the plague, longe, tardo, cito: that is aloof, slowly, quickly; to accustom thyself to subdue the lesser sins that at last thou mayest overcome the greater; to apply thyself to thy appointed calling and always to be busily occupied about something in the same; to oppose the law, the judgments of God, the last judgment, the glorious presence of God and suchlike against the rebellion and looseness of the flesh. (Perkins 241)

Perkins's clear writing style and sound theological scholarship enabled his practical teachings on vocations, domestic duties, and casuistry to penetrate popular Puritan culture, beginning the work Taylor and Baxter among others were to continue. Thomas Fuller praises Perkins for making plain the mysteries of theology to laymen and clergy alike, saying that Perkins

> brought the schools into the Pulpit, and unshelling their controversies out of their hard school terms, made thereof plain and wholsome meat for his people. . . . An excellent Chirurgeon he was at joynting of a broken soul, and at stating of a doubtfull conscience. (Bush 312)

Perkins' influence was enormous, and the proliferation of English conduct books throughout the seventeenth century is largely a result of his own theological concerns and forceful prose style.

By making attractive "the puritan style of piety" (Breward 24), Perkins contributed significantly to the popular culture of seventeenth-century England. This puritan piety involves

> A profound sense of God's majesty and sovereignty over human life, a deep conviction about the rebellious pride and wilful ignorance of the human heart, a quest for assurance that one was in fact a child of God and not a limb of Satan, a careful examination of the

> nature of the mystical union between Christ and his elect, a concern for a life consonant with election and a pervasive sense of the shortness of human life accompanied by expectation of imminent judgment were the dominant features of the piety that Perkins so eloquently and forcefully commended to his contemporaries. (Breward 30)

The piety that Perkins and his followers advocate is practical and experiential; it is not bound by a codified set of rules and regulations, but is flexible, adapting to specific incidents and cases of conscience. Perkins operates under the principle that "circumstances alter cases" (Starr 7). One cannot make an ethical judgment based upon broad moral principles alone, but must through the careful consideration of details look to the matter at hand, an apparent seventeenth-century version of modern "situational ethics." Casuistry, as a result, sets believers free from the rigours of scrupulous legalism, emphasizing the experience of faith, not just the intellectual acquisition of it. For Perkins,

> divinity is a life to be lived; there is a God to be glorified, a hell to be shunned. So men must know Christ, reiterated Perkins, "not generally and

> confusedly, but by a lively, powerfull, and operative knowledge: for otherwise the deuils themselves know Christ." He preached a religion of experience, "and indeed it is but a knowledge swimming in the braine, which doth not alter and dispose the affections and the whole man." (Sprunger 148)

Consequently, Perkins's concerns are largely domestic, demonstrating the Puritan regard for marital relations, rearing of children, and managing of households.

Before Perkins, there was such a dearth of English conduct-books and the demand for them was so great, that Anglican and Puritan clergymen were forced to use Catholic works. Like Perkins, Richard Baxter is concerned that there is still a need for English books of practical divinity. One of the reasons that he gives for writing Christian Directory (1673) is that

> the Younger and more unfurnished, and unexperienced sort of Ministers, might have a promptuary at hand, for Practical Resolutions and Directions on the subjects that they have need to deal in. (Baxter A_{3R})

He lists such writers as Sayrus, Fragoso, Perkins, Sanderson, Ames, Dickson, and Taylor, praising them for their forceful casuistical tractates, but asserting at the same time, the continued public demand for such works: "And still men are calling for more, which I have attempted: Hoping that others will come after and do better than we all" (Baxter A_{3R}).

Baxter wants to set the reader free from the strictures of generalized moral pronouncements, so that he can live in the freedom that comes with true righteousness. Of the many cases of conscience that are found in the monumental Christian Directory (1673), one of the most surprising, given usual twentieth-century views of Puritanism, is found in the fourth part where Baxter asks "Is it lawful to lay Wagers upon Horse-races, Dogs, Hawks, Bear-baitings, or such Games as depend on the activity of Beast or Man?" (4: 129) Baxter's resolution of this moral dilemma is qualified and conditional; he does not dismiss betting utterly out of hand, arguing instead that one may lay wagers on an activity if

> it be not an exercise which is it self unlawful, by cruelty to Beasts, or hazard to the lives of men (as in Fencing, Running, Wrestling, &c. it may fall out if it be not cautelously done:) or by the expence of an undue proportion of time in them, which is the common malignity of such recreations. (4: 129)

In true casuistical fashion, Baxter takes into account the circumstances which surround the ethical dilemma before he passes moral sentence, for he wants his reader to be trained by his example in how to assess a case of conscience. Taylor too explains how casuistry trains the believer to discern good and evil:

> it was necessary that Cases of Conscience should be written over anew, and established upon better principles, and proceed in more sober and satisfying methods: nothing being more requisite then that we should all be instructed, and throughly prepared to every good work; that we should have a conscience void of offence both towards God and towards man; that we should be able to separate the vile from the precious, and know what to chuse and what to avoid; that we may have our Senses exercised to discern between good and evil, that we may not call good evil, or evil good. (Taylor vii)

For Taylor and the others, true casuistry does not set out to shackle believers within a code of laws and regulations, but seeks to liberate them by demonstrating a methodology for discerning righteousness.

Because of the Protestant casuistical emphasis upon personal holiness and the individual experience of faith, Taylor laments that English ministers and laymen are forced to depend upon Catholic behaviourial guides in his preface to Ductor Dubitantium:

> for any publick provisions of books of Casuistical Theology, we were almost wholly unprovided, and, like the children of Israel in the days of Saul and Jonathan, we were forced to go down to the forges of the Philistims to sharpen every man his Share and his Coulter, his Axe and his Mattock. We had swords and Spears of our own, enough for defence, and more then enough for disputation: but in this more necessary part of the Conduct of Consciences we did receive our answers from abroad, till we found that our old needs were sometimes very ill supplied, and new necessities did every day arise.
> (Taylor i-ii)

Although this common complaint among Protestant casuists may in part be attributed to a religious and political reaction against "Romanism," it is also a reaction against the very different emphases of Catholic casuistry. Writing of Lewis

Bayly in Anglican Devotion, C.J. Stranks explains that while most Catholic devotional books are meant to stir up feelings of piety, Protestant ones are less affective and more rational in nature:

> To the Romanist a book of devotion meant a treatise on his duties as a member of the Church, which would stimulate him to accept its teaching with firmer faith, supply him with approved devotions, kindle his affection and desire, and which frequently went on to encourage him to seek mystical experience. To the Protestant a devotional book meant a treatise on elementary theology, with careful teaching on the nature of prayer which would enable him to form his own petitions in his own words, and specimen devotions and meditations to guide him in doing so, together with directions for his public and private duties. (Stranks 35)

Owen C. Watkins writes in The Puritan Experience that Puritans insist "that the Christian life could only begin with knowledge of the gospel and that later progress presupposed increased cognitive understanding at every stage" (105).

There is, nevertheless, a place for the emotions in the Protestantism articulated by Bunyan. While his faith is not mystical, it is not coldly rational either, with Christian's pilgrimage to God engaging the heart, soul, and the mind. Bunyan, in fact, maximizes the emotional appeal of the sensational in Mr. Badman to reach an audience that might not otherwise read through the casuistical tomes of Baxter, Perkins, Taylor, or Bayly. Bunyan is not as naïve about the entertaining value of sin as Mr. Wiseman who is oblivious of the fact that Attentive or anyone else could find the sordid details of Badman's wickedness diverting. Mr. Badman is undeniably affective, for Bunyan wants his audience to go beyond mere knowledge of the Gospel; he wants its reality to affect them emotionally and psychologically as well as intellectually, renewing them by the transformation of their hearts as well as their minds.

In Mr. Badman, Attentive's moral code is initially rigorous and inflexible, operating on principle alone, without taking into account those special circumstances which alter cases. In a case of conscience that is also found in Baxter's The Catechizing of Families (1683), Attentive is horrified that Badman's father would set his son up in business, knowing full well his son's moral laxness. Attentive protests,

> Had I been his Father, I would have held him a little at staves-end, till I had

> *had far better proof of his manners to be good*; (*for I perceive that his Father did know what a naughty boy he had been, both by what he used to do at home, and because he changed a good Master for a bad, &c)*. (*Badman* 61-62)

His immediate reaction corresponds to Baxter's catechetical response to the question, "Is it a duty to disinherit an incorrigible wicked Son; or to deny such filial maintenance and Portions?":

> Supposing it to be in the Fathers power, it is a duty to leave them no more than will maintain their lives in temperance: For all men are Gods stewards and must be accountable for all that he doth trust them with: And they ought not to give it to be the fewel of Lust and Sin, when they have reason to believe that it will be so used: That were to give Gods Mercies to the Devil, to be turn'd against him. Nor are Parents bound to give those Children the *necessary maintenance* for their *lives* and *health*, or any thing at all, who by *obstinate rebellion utterly forfeit it*: Nature is not so strong a bond, but that some sin

> may dissolve it, and forfeit Life it self, and therefore forfeit fatherly maintenance. The rebellion and ingratitude of an incorrigible Child is far more hainous than a Neighbours injuries. And though Moses Law and its rigors be ceased, the reason of it still remaineth, as directive to us. When thousands of good people want food, and we cannot give all, it's a sin to prefer an incorrigible wicked Son before them. (Catechizing 306)

Even though Attentive's application of the lesson in Baxter's catechism is generally appropriate, Wiseman chides Attentive for not taking into account the particular plight of these parents whose son refuses their direction. They wish him well in spite of all the abuse that he heaps on them. Wiseman knows something of the emotional turmoil that Badman's parents are experiencing, and this knowledge compels him to temper his judgment and caution the younger Attentive:

> But alas, alas, you talk as if you never knew, or had at this present forgot what the bowels and compassions of a Father are. Why did you not serve your own son so? But 'tis evident enough, that we

> are better at giving good counsel to others, than we are at taking good counsel our selves. (Badman 62)

Because the way of Christian holiness is hard, Attentive needs to be slow to judge, taking the time to consider the exigencies of each situation. In the dialogue, however, Attentive settles the matter abruptly, concluding that Badman's father should have put his son out to some man who would be able to command Badman, keeping "him pretty hard to some employ" so that he would not have the time "to do those wickednesses that could not be done without time to do them" (Badman 38). When Attentive wrongly assumes that the service and worship of God might have been lacking in the home of Badman's Master, Wiseman sets him right, asserting that the master

> was a very good man, a very devout person; one that frequented the best Soul-means, that set up the Worship of God in his Family, and also that walked himself thereafter. (Badman 38)

According to Wiseman, Badman's master is a paragon of virtue; he is Bunyan's "rare Christian" who not only teaches his family and those under his charge the precepts of the faith, but whose life is consonant with the Gospel. Badman's parents are just as devout, practising piety in the privacy of their own homes as well as in the open. Bunyan uses Badman's wickedness as a foil to set in high relief the wonder of the godly, fruitful lives of his parents and master whose virtue in this world is confronted on every avenue by sin, demonstrating as well the very practical divinity of godly parents trying to cope with an obdurate son.

Casuistry educates the believer in the way of holiness through the presentation of cases of conscience, applying behaviourial principles to such diverse topics as lying, stealing, cursing, swearing, marriage, rearing children, drunkenness, uncleanness (i.e., sexual sin), and such mercantile issues as buying and selling, borrowing and lending, usury, contractual obligations, and "breaking" (i.e. declaring bankruptcy). One of the major difficulties faced by casuists trying to write a compendium of ethical issues and their resolutions is that such a compilation is endless. Taylor acknowledges this in his preface:

> But now I shall desire that he who reads my Book will not expect this Book to be a collective body of particular Cases of Conscience; for I find that they are infinite, and my life is not so; and I shall never live to write them all.
> (xvii)

Baxter's voluminous Christian Directory and Taylor's Ductor Dubitantium illustrate the immensity of the task their authors embarked upon. Milton's discussion of the futility of such a chore in Areopagitica is justly famous:

> Good and evil we know in the field of this world grow up together almost inseparably; and the knowledge of good is so involved and interwoven with the knowledge of evil, and in so many cunning resemblances hardly to be discerned, that those confused seeds which were imposed on Psyche as an incessant labor to cull out and sort asunder, were not more intermixed. It was from out of the rind of one apple tasted, that the knowledge of good and evil, as two twins cleaving together, leaped forth into the world. And perhaps this is that doom which Adam fell into of knowing good and evil, of knowing good by evil. (Milton 728)

Nevertheless, by demonstrating to the reader how to apply broad moral principles to daily life, casuistry attempts to make the holy life tangible. As the believer wisely chooses righteousness over unrighteousness in the private areas of his life, graduating slowly to the public, his life will bear more completely the fruit of godliness, demonstrating God's faithfulness to those who put their trust in Him.

Believing that unrepentant decisions are shaped by ignorance, casuists seek through the acquisition of a knowledge of God in Scripture to draw believers towards holiness, emphasizing personal culpability. Lewis Bayly in *The Practice of Pietie* stresses man's personal responsibility for denying the lusts of the flesh:

> When a carnal Christian hears, *that man hath not freewil unto good*, hee looseth the *reins* to his own corrupt will, as though it lay not in him to bridle, or to subdue it. *Implicitly* making God the Author of sin in suffering man to be run into this necessity. (Bayly 162)

Even though God has predestined man from before the beginning of time, he still must choose responsibly to accept the calling that God has given him; if he does not, he will be judged as surely as Mr. Badman. In a similar vein, Bunyan does not allow the damned the argument that their faith is sealed by the doctrine of reprobation. In *The Greatness of Soul* (1682-1683), he writes that "men go not to Hell by *providence* but by *sin*" (*MW* 9: 174).

Casuists seek to supply believers with a reliable standard so that they can accurately judge for themselves how trustworthy their ability to determine the holy way is at any given point in their pilgrimage. Bayly explains the importance of good works to faith:

> To be rich in good works, is the surest foundation of our *assurance* to obtain *eternal life*. For good works are the true fruits of a true *faith*, which apprehendeth Christ, and his *obedience*, unto salvation. And no other faith *availeth in Christ, but that which worketh by love*; and (but in the *act of Justification*) that faith which *only justifieth is* never *only*, but *ever* accompanied with *good works*; as the Tree with his *fruits*, the *Sun* with his *light*, the *fire* with his *heat*, and *water* with his *moisture*. And the *faith* which doth not justifie *her self* by good workes before *men*, is but a *dead faith*, which wil never justifie a mans soul before God. But a justifying faith *purifieth the heart*, end [sic] sanctifieth the whole man throughout. (Bayly 160-161)

The righteousness of the faithful demonstrates before the world the justice of God in condemning sin. Believers who live holy lives exhibit the grace of God in transforming their rebelliousness into obedience. As well, the good works of faith, though not an absolute guarantee, mollify to some extent the deep anxiety and insecurity that come from not knowing for certain if one is of the elect.

Moral theologians could confidently claim that the good works of faith are indicators of one's election because true holiness is possible only with God's enabling power. On his own, man can effect only the facade of holiness. In Christian Behaviour, Bunyan admits

> There is flesh as well as spirit in the best of Saints: and as the Spirit of Grace will be alwayes putting forth something that is good, so the flesh will be putting forth continually that which is evil. (MW 3: 17)

Sin's presence, permeating the nature of man, makes Christian's pilgrimage in this world a warfare where battle-field victory is never certain and never ultimate. In The Heavenly Footman (1698), Bunyan illustrates the struggle of faith to live the holy life:

> Because the way is long, (I speak Metaphorically) and there is many a dirty step, many a high Hill, much Work to do, a Wicked Heart, World and Devil to overcome. I say, there are many steps to be taken by those that intend to be Saved, by running or walking in the steps of that Faith of our Father

> Abraham. Out of Egypt, thou must go thorow the Red Sea; thou must Run a long and tedious Journey, thorow the wast howling Wilderness, before thou come to the Land of Promise. (MW 5: 150)

In The Pilgrim's Progress, Part Two, Mr. Honest describes in human terms the theological ramifications of the struggle of faith in the lives of the pilgrims:

> It happens to us, as it happeneth to Way-fairing men; sometimes our way is clean, sometimes foul; sometimes up-hill, sometimes down-hill; We are seldom at a Certainty. The Wind is not alwayes on our Backs, nor is every one a Friend that we meet with in the Way. We have met with some notable Rubs already; and what are yet behind we know not, but for the most part we find it true, that has been talked of of old, A good Man must suffer Trouble. (2PP 275)

Because of the difficulty of pilgrimage, casuistry instils within its reader a sympathy for the believer who must take on the impossible. Holiness without grace is a whitewash, and sanctification is a process whereby the apparent is made real through the Holy Spirit.

As a conduct-book teaching by negative example, Mr. Badman is a curious blending of extended exposition and intensely perceptive vignettes that illustrate cases of conscience, crucial to the moral edification and encouragement of the believer. In the beginning, Bunyan laments the general wickedness in England, deploring the badness of the times and the ennui that has debilitated the saints; the times are bad because men are bad, "if men therefore would mend, so would the times" (Badman 13). In spite of the unfortunate criticism that Forrest and Sharrock level at Mr. Badman for being "narrowly subordinate to a remorseless moral lesson, with its concomitant repetitions and rhetorical emphases" (Forrest and Sharrock xii), Mr. Badman is paradoxically optimistic. Living the holy life and preaching the gospel can effectually change this world for the better.

Bunyan's piety even in the realism of Mr. Badman is quietly optimistic. In spite of prevailing wickedness, Bunyan sees evidence of God's dealings with the faithful. From the perspective of human experience, Bunyan's hope for the future is succoured. With the grace of God, believers have the potential for flourishing. There is even in Mr. Badman's life the hope that he too will repent. The reader cannot tell from the narrative alone that Badman is damned to hell; his fate even in the exposition is not completely settled, for only God can tell ultimately where Badman is eternally bound. Bunyan's narrative compels the reader to look closely for the signs of salvation or damnation in Badman's life and even his death, while cautioning that death-bed experiences are no single indicator. The first-hand experience of faith alone is current; secondary experience is worthless. Throughout the narrative Bunyan places much authority on the accounts of eye and "ear-witnesses":

> all the things that here I discourse of, I mean as to matter of fact, have been acted upon the stage of this World, even many times before mine eyes. (*Badman* 1)

Of the many judgment stories that Bunyan uses to demonstrate the exposition, those with the most authority are highlighted with the manual sign of the pointing index finger in the margin. Bunyan explains the significance of this printer's device in "The Author to the Reader":

> *Some notice therefore I have also here in this little discourse given the Reader, of them who were his Confederates in his life, and Attendants at his death; with a hint, either of some high Villainy committed by them, as also of those Judgments that have overtaken and fallen upon them from the just and revenging hand of God. All of*

> which are things either fully known by me, as being eye and ear-witnesses thereto, or that I have received from such hands, whose relations as to this, I am bound to believe. And that the Reader may know them from other things and passages herein contained, I have pointed at them in the Margent, as with a finger . . . . (Badman 3-4)

The authority of personal experience ranks somewhere below the authority that Bunyan accords to the Bible giving tremendous weight to the testimonies that Bunyan relates to the reader. Because most of the sins that Bunyan enumerates are nothing out of the ordinary and concern the banal affairs of daily life, the reader may behold as in a mirror "the steps that take hold of hell" (Badman 1), in the process being drawn inexorably into a reflection on unholy living and the absolute necessity of holy dying.

Evidence of the thematic influence of the conduct-book tradition upon Mr. Badman can be found in the dialogue that takes place between Mr. Wiseman and Mr. Attentive, enumerating "in Particular" the sins of Badman's childhood and his wickedness as an adult. Wiseman begins his narrative of Mr. Badman's life, asserting "that from a Child he was very bad" (Badman 17). Even though Badman's parents were godly and sought earnestly to bring him up in the way of faith, he steadfastly ignores the spiritual concerns of his parents. As Attentive avers,

> Children come polluted with sin into the World, and that oft-times the sins of their youth, especially while they are very young, are rather by vertue of Indwelling sin, than by examples that are set before them by others. (Badman 17)

Tragically, the catalogue of sins in Badman's repertoire is not so unusual, but are part and parcel of the lives of ordinary people: lying, stealing, profaning the Sabbath, swearing and cursing, drunkenness, purloining, uncleanness, wife-abuse, and mercantile corruption.

In the account of Badman's lying (Badman 18-20), Bunyan emphasizes in the margin, that "A Lie knowingly told demonstrates that the heart is desperately hard" (Badman 18). Attentive assumes that Badman must have gone against the good education he undoubtedly received from his parents when he told such blatant lies, "Yea, he must make his heart hard, and bold to doe it" (Badman 18). Neither Wiseman nor Attentive shares any sympathy with the idea that there can be varying gradations of falsehood as suggested by Augustine in Against Lying (McNeill 105). Bunyan, instead, declares through his interlocutors that "a spirit of Lying is the Devils Brat" (Badman 18), and that a lie cannot be in the heart "before the person has committed a kind of spiritual adultery with the Devil" (Badman 19). Clearly, then, in Bunyan's morality lying is not to be part of the Christian's deportment for it is one of the Devil's off-spring, bringing "the soul to the very den of Devils, to wit, the dark dungeon of hell" (Badman 19). By telling lies, Badman exposes his lineage with the "Father of lies," confirming his reprobation and the justice of God in sentencing him to eternal damnation. He will, without doubt, be judged severely, and Wiseman cries out in anguish at the thought of the fate awaiting Badman:

> But alas, what shall these lyers doe, when, for their lyes they shall be tumbled down into hell, to that Devil that did beget those lyes in their heart, and so be tormented by fire and brimstone, with him, and that for ever and ever, for their lyes? (Badman 20)

In this unsettling passage, Bunyan emphasizes the need for parents to take seriously their responsibility to raise their children well. He also emphasizes the importance of truth-telling and the danger of lying. Both Wiseman and Attentive suggest that lying is only the beginning of further wickedness. Resolute lying hardens the heart for "a lyer is weded to the Devil himself" (Badman 19).

The conduct-book tradition also shapes Bunyan's narrative in Wiseman's description of Badman's stealing (20-24). Attentive stresses that even while Badman was a child, he could not but have known "that to steal was to transgress the Law of God" (Badman 21). Wiseman affirms that Badman knew perfectly what he was doing, clarifying the extent to which his father went to correct his son's wickedness. The issues surrounding the rearing of children constitute a large part of the conduct-book tradition that runs through Mr. Badman. Badman's parents were diligent in their efforts to raise up their son in the way of faith. In Christian Behaviour, Bunyan gives parents seven pieces of advice for correcting their children's misbehaviour, adumbrated in the account given by Wiseman of the way Badman's parents deal with him. Parents are first of all to win their children from evil with fair words, reasoning with them and using suitable Scriptures to strengthen their arguments. Parents are to ensure that their children "be not companions with those that are rude and ungodly" (MW 3: 29), the dangers of which Wiseman will expand upon later in his narrative (Badman 43-45). As well, parents need to watch that their reproofs are done in love, not anger, so that children will realize fully that their parents are angry at their sin, not themselves. Children should be taught about the inevitability of death and judgment, so that they can grow up in the fear of God that leads to true holiness. If parents are ever driven to use the rod, they are to strike in cool blood, explaining the child's responsibility, and stressing how much it goes against a parent's heart to mete out such punishment, for if fair means had been done, none of this severity had been necessary. Also, parents are to clarify that they are acting out of love for God and for the souls of their children. Bunyan advises parents to end disciplining sessions with prayer, so that children will realize that they are loved by their parents and by God, regardless of their actions. The unflagging efforts of Badman's parents are an example to all parents to love and discipline their children, regardless of how they react. Wiseman replies to Attentive's question about how Badman would respond to his father's rebuke by saying,

> How! why, like to a Thief that is found. He would stand gloating, and hanging down his head in a sullen, pouching manner, (a body might read, as we use to say, the picture of Ill-luck in his face,) and when his Father did demand his answer to such questions concerning his Villainy, he would grumble and mutter at him, and that should be all he could get. (Badman 21)

Bunyan exhorts parents to continue in the good work of rearing their children well, while encouraging children to listen to their parents and to respect them as God's instruments of righteousness.

Bunyan's views on corporal punishment seem to stand somewhere between Jeremy Taylor's and John Locke's. Taylor highlights the authority of fathers to chastise their offending children. He seems stricter than either Bunyan or Locke, even though he urges fathers to use gentleness and love in governing their children. Taylor traces the history of patriarchal rule, going so far as to say that in some parts of Christendom a man was "permitted to kill his daughter if he sees her in unchast Embraces" (3: 365). For Taylor, children have little recourse against a dictatorial father. Locke, in contrast to Taylor, is far more moderate. Although Locke also sanctions corporal punishment, he does so reluctantly:

> For I would have a *Father seldom strike his Child*, but upon very urgent Necessity, and as the last Remedy: And then perhaps it will be fit to do it so, that the Child should not quickly forget it. . . . *Beating* is the worst, and therefore the last Means to be used in the Correction of Children; and that only in Cases of Extremity, after all gentler Ways have been tried, and proved unsuccessful: Which, if well observed,

> there will be very seldom any need for Blows. (Locke 132).

Badman's parents treated their son well, rearing him within the norms of seventeenth-century family life. Their faith made them optimistic that he might convert, and they did all that they could to win him, rearing him in the faith and correcting him with love and gentleness.

After delineating Badman's proclivity for stealing, Wiseman then describes how Badman profanes the Sabbath, demonstrating graphically how one should not act on the Lord's Day (Badman 24-26). Wiseman recalls, in negative fashion, the holy duties Bunyan recommends for the Sabbath when he recounts how Badman could not endure Sundays:

> Reading the Scriptures, hearing Sermons, godly Conference, repeating of Sermons, and Prayer, were things that he could not away with; and therefore if his Father on such days, (as often he did, though sometimes not withstanding his diligence, he would be sure to give him the slip) did keep him strictly to the observation of the day, he would plainly shew by all carriages that he was highly discontent therewith: he would sleep at Duties, would talk vainly with his Brothers, and as it were, think every

> godly opportunity seven times as long as
> it was, grudging till it was over.
> (Badman 24)

In response to Wiseman, Attentive suggests that one's attitude toward the Sabbath is a reflection of one's devotion to God. In the margin, Bunyan insists that "God proves the heart what it is, by instituting of the Lords Day, and setting it apart to his service" (Badman 25).

In the long account on swearing and cursing (Badman 27-37), Bunyan exhibits some of the care with which casuists distinguish one sort of activity from another. At first, Wiseman and Attentive both pontificate loudly on the evils of swearing and cursing. Then, to ensure that the reader knows perfectly what he is talking about, Bunyan has Attentive ask what the difference is between the two. Wiseman says that while swearing "Is a light and wicked calling of God, &c. to witness to our vain and foolish attesting of things " (Badman 27), cursing

> is to sentence another or our self, for, or to evil: or to wish that some evil might happen to the person or thing under the Curse, unjustly. (Badman 29).

Wiseman argues that in all their permutations, the crucial distinction between swearing and cursing is that swearing "hath immediately to do with the name of God" (Badman 29).

In the account where Wiseman describes how Badman's master tries to no avail to instil the principles of Christian morality into his wicked apprentice, Wiseman informs Attentive of the three young villains from whom Badman received instructions in drunkenness, and purloining, and uncleanness (Badman 43). This account leads naturally into a long discourse about why one should avoid the companionship of the wicked, with Badman demonstrating the worst possible consequences of such actions. Both Wiseman and Attentive concur that it is a sign of God's judgment when one is given over to wicked companions. Attentive says

> I cannot but think indeed that it is a Great Judgment of God for a man to be given up to the company of vile men; for what are such but the Devils Decoyes, even those by whom he drawes the simple into his Net? A Whoremaster, a Drunkard, a Thiefe, what are they but the Devils baits, by which he catcheth others? (Badman 43)

Badman cuts himself off from all reminders of the gospel, gives himself over to the lusts of the flesh, and becomes enslaved to sin. Badman's first companion is a frequenter of taverns and tippling-houses, giving Wiseman the opportunity to consider the evils that accompany drunkenness. First, drunkenness impoverishes a person;

second, it weakens a person's health, making him susceptible to disease; third, it "is a sin that is often times attended with abundance of other evils" (Badman 46); and fourth, as Wiseman says: "By Drunkenness, Men do often times shorten their dayes; goe out of the Ale-house drunk, and break their Necks before they come home" (Badman 46). According to Wiseman's wry assessment, when Badman breaks only his leg instead of his neck, he illustrates God's mercy toward him for he deserves much more (Badman 132). Wiseman and Attentive reflect upon the four evils of drunkenness, culminating with the point that drunkenness is to be avoided because it leads to other sins. As Attentive listens to Wiseman explain how Badman pays for his drink by stealing from his master, Attentive observes that many an honest man is undone by his servants. Wiseman agrees, cautioning masters to be wary of the kind of servants and apprentices that they take in, a lesson Badman's master would have done well to heed.

Badman is also addicted to uncleanness. Both Wiseman and Attentive stress how difficult it is for young men to escape the snare of "such beastly queans, [who] shall, with words and carriages that are openly tempting, discover themselves unto them" (Badman 49). In this sketch of the dangers of sexual sin, Wiseman tells the story of the great man who

> had lived so long in that sin, that he had almost lost his sight. So his Physicians were sent for, to whom he told his Disease; but they told him, that they could do him no good, unless he would forbear his Women. Nay then, said he, farewell sweet Sight. (Badman 50-51)

The idea that too much sexual activity causes a loss of sight has a long tradition that can be traced back to Aristotle. Albert the Great tells a wonderful story in Quaestiones de Animalibus of a monk from a rival order whose sexual exploit, though lethal, is legendary:

> Et quidem narravit mihi magister Clemens de Bohemia, quod quidam monachus griseus accessit ad quandam dominam pulchram et sicut famelicus homo eam ante pulsaum matutinarum expetivit sexaginta sex vicibus, in crastino decubuit et mortuus est eadem die. Et quia fuit nobilis, apertum fuit corpus eius, et repertum est cerebrum totum evacuatum, ita quod nihil de ipso mansit nisi ad quantitatem pomi granati, et oculi similiter annihilati. (268) [And indeed my teacher Clement of Bohemia told me that

> a certain grey monk approached a certain beautiful lady and like a famished man he sought her 66 times before matins was rung. He got up the next morning and died the same day. And because he was noble his body was opened up and his whole brain was found to be emptied so that nothing remained of it except for a quantity like a pomegranate, and his eyes were similarly annihilated. Trans. Carol Everest.][2]

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[2] In De Generatione Animalium, Aristotle explains the medical theory linking blindness and sexual over-indulgence: "the region about the eyes is, of all the head, that most nearly connected with the generative secretions; a proof of this is that it alone is visibly changed in sexual intercourse, and those who indulge too much in this are seen to have their eyes sunken in. The reason is that the nature of the semen is similar to that of the brain, for the material of it is watery (the heat being acquired later). [Both brain and semen are cold and watery when formed first; the former remains cold, the latter somehow acquires the vital heat at a later period of development.] And the seminal purgations are from the region of the diaphragm, for the first principle of nature is there, so that the movements from the pudenda are communicated to the chest, and the smells from the chest are

Immediately following Wiseman's allusion to the great man who was as prepared as the monk to hazard his sight for satisfaction, Attentive, not to be outdone, alludes to "another that had his Nose eaten off" (51) in possible reference to Sir William Davenant who lost his nose as a consequence of the pox.[3] In these, Bunyan illustrates his willingness to entertain his audience while educating them in the way of godliness. He is not just writing a casuistical treatise appealing solely to clerics and philosophers alone, but to an audience including labourers as well as merchants who are reading during their few minutes of relaxation for entertainment and edification.

Perhaps the most painful and unrelenting of the lessons that Bunyan teaches in Mr. Badman centres on the person of Mrs. Badman and her unfortunate marriage. According to Wiseman, her grave error was in marrying Mr. Badman without examining fully the circumstances and motives of his conversion, and in not seeking the counsel of those in her church:

> she should have gone more warily to work: what if she acquainted some of her best, most knowing, and godly friends

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perceived through the respiration" (Aristotle 747^a).

[3] See the note to p. 51, l. 27 in the Forrest and Sharrock edition to The Life and Death of Mr. Badman, p. 176.

> therewith? what if she had engaged a Godly Minister or two to have talked with Mr. Badman? Also, what if she had laid wait round about him, to espie if he was not otherwise behind her back than he was before her face? And besides, I verily think (since in the multitude of Counsellors there is safety) that if she had acquainted the Congregation with it, and desired them to spend some time in prayer to God about it, and if she must have had him, to have received him as to his godliness, upon the Judgment of others, rather than her own, (she knowing them to be Godly and Judicious, and unbiased men) she had more peace all her life after; than to trust to her own poor, raw, womanish Judgment, as she did. (Badman 72-73)

Both Wiseman and Attentive regrettably seem to suggest that Mrs. Badman somehow deserves the abuse her husband assaults her with because of her error in judgment. Bunyan, nevertheless, does not advocate domestic violence, but mutual respect and sharing in the marriage relationship. While he undeniably argues for the subordination of wives to their husbands, he does attempt to define limits to the husband's domination. In Christian Behaviour, Bunyan argues

> But yet, do not think that by the subjection I have here mentioned, that I do intend women should be their husbands slaves. Women are their husbands yoak-fellows, their flesh and their bones; and he is not a man that hateth his own flesh, or that is bitter against it, Ephes. 5.29 Wherefore let every man love his wife as himself: and the wife see that she reverence her husband, Ephes. 3. 33. (MW 3: 34)

Bunyan recognizes women's vulnerability in society, emphasizing the wickedness of the times in which young women get married and are destroyed by the men they love.

An aspect of the conduct-book tradition found in Mr. Badman which has received a considerable amount of attention is the one dealing with Badman's business practices. Badman perfects the art of breaking (i.e., going bankrupt) to get money "by hatfulls and pocketfulls" (Badman 87), learning to defraud his customers and bluff his creditors. He is fraudulent, using false weights and measures, and sleight of hand to rob those whom he is supposed to serve. He is unafraid of charging twice, and requires those who protest to show their receipts. As well, he is guilty of extortion which Wiseman vaguely defines as "a screwing from men more than by the Law of God or men is right" (Badman 108). Of course, all these measures can only provide a temporary reprieve for Badman, because his appetite is insatiable, and his dissolute behaviour is the cause of his waste. Thomas Wood lists a number of the mercantile issues that casuists have traditionally dealt with in their work: the making and fulfilling of contracts, buying and selling--the just price, borrowing and lending, restitution, theft, labour relations, and the relations between landlords and tenants (92). Wood protests that while the rapid economic changes that were taking place in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries directly challenged casuists, they

> were ever ready to insist that all possessions are held on trust by individuals and groups, under God, for the benefit of the whole of society. With that view, all industry and commerce become vital forms of public and religious service, to be regulated and controlled not only by the detailed legislation of the State, but also by the promptings of a well-instructed Christian conscience. With that view, it becomes axiomatic that production shall be mainly with an eye to

> consumption and not to mere profit-making, that wages and prices shall be fixed by justice and not by covetousness or ruthless competition, and that lending shall be inspired by charity and not by avarice. (Wood 101-102)

Mr. Badman, in sharp contrast, is motivated only by profit-making, greed, and mercenary self-interest.

By posing for his reader "the problem of how a man may deal with the world of commerce without jeopardizing his religious beliefs" (Salzman 253), Bunyan uses Mr. Badman as a paradigm of how not to act. The impact of the conduct-book tradition in the obverse is clearly evident in _Mr. Badman_. Bunyan's narrative is realistic and filled with common sense, containing no idea that is contradicted by human experience. The holiness Bunyan advocates is balanced by a full awareness of the imperfection of the saints, their need for continuing moral and intellectual effort, and the grace of God to live the holy life. Bunyan's _Mr. Badman_ is a fictionalized representation of reprobation and sanctification, based on Bunyan's experience as a "mechanick preacher" and a prisoner of the Lord. Watkins describes some of the values of popular Puritanism that can be found in Bunyan's work:

> a recognition of environmental factors which prepared him for effectual

> calling; emphasis on how his unregenerate decisions were shaped by ignorance; orderly summaries at various points in his narrative which imply a sophisticated habit of self-examination. (Watkins 72)

The dangers of not examining one's spiritual condition are amply demonstrated in Mr. Badman's life and death. By breaking the narrative of Badman's life into a series of discrete incidents, Bunyan applies the parable of the good steward to the holy life. Just as Mr. Badman is damned because he refuses to be faithful in the little things, so the Christian is rewarded for his precise attention to detail. The casuistical technique employed here is that of fracturing the holy life into a series of immediate, attainable objectives, with the Christian choosing to be faithful in the trifles of daily life, and ideally advancing gradually to more significant ethical dilemmas. The idea of progress should not be viewed as a chronological procession, however, but as a "dynamic stasis" where the imperfect saint is more surely "grounded and settled" in the hope of the Gospel (Col. 1: 23). Not only the actions themselves, but the intentions behind those actions are important, and as the motivations are sanctified by the Holy Spirit, the saint's behaviour will be made more and more Christ-like

(55). Mr. Badman never embarks upon this process, and consequently is damned.

Within the conduct-book tradition, Mr. Badman contributes much to the genesis of the novel, as established by Daniel Defoe in Moll Flanders and Robinson Crusoe. By practising the conduct-book habit of paying close attention to the circumstances and motives that shape and activate individual actions and incidents in human life, Bunyan moves the narrative from spiritual and psychological analysis, pushing it towards mimesis, plot development, and characterization. Ordinary human lives and banal incidents take on pivotal significance when analyzed in the context of the doctrine of sanctification. Every person is celebrated and every event momentous--fit subjects for literature. Watkins explains that because the evidence of salvation

> consisted of particular phenomena and events made meaningful in a sequential pattern, a consciousness of time, history pervaded the subjects' awareness. A man was what he was through the process of being remade. Narrative was therefore the most appropriate form in which to embody the emerging sense of the self, since this would help to ensure that no relevant factors were ignored. (Watkins 24)

Bunyan also advocates a sympathy to the human condition that is cognizant of man's nature and the forces with which he or she must come to terms. He exploits the horrific and the sensational, drawing attention to a broad range of subject-matter on which future fiction writers could draw. As well, the continual examination of one's actions and motives is just an extension of the self-consciousness urged by the spiritual autobiography, making ordinary human beings fit subjects for analysis. The conduct-book tradition moves spiritual autobiography in the direction of fiction by centring upon individual actions and incidents in human life, and making narrative the vehicle for describing the span of life under the aegis of eternity.

CHAPTER TWO

DISCOURSE COMPLETE AND INCOMPLETE: MR. BADMAN AND THE DIALOGUE

Arising out of seventeenth-century obsession with sin, death, and judgment, Puritans and nonconformist conduct-book writers often employed the dialogue to express the popularly held view that this earthly life is a preparation for the after-life. In Mutual Accusations, Rosalie Osmond discusses three distinct categories of dialogues that appeared in England in the seventeenth century:

> First, there are those dialogues that are modelled on and remain close to their medieval prototypes; these are still primarily moral and didactic in tone. Second, there are those which, while still retaining the framework of the medieval dialogues, have assimilated elements of the "discussion" dialogue that . . . was gaining in popularity in the period. Third, there are those which have moved away from the specific medieval setting and, although still taking place between a genuine body and soul, have become philosophical rather than moral in their tone and intention. (Osmond 84).

Osmond's first two categories provide a helpful continuum on which to place the dialogues which will be discussed in this chapter; the third category was of little interest to writers like Bunyan, Baxter, and Dent. Their dialogues are primarily moral and didactic, expounding pre-determined axioms, and not involving at all a philosophical searching for the truth. These writers are fully convinced that they already know the truth, wanting only to convey it with as much ease and pleasure as possible to their readers.

The structure of The Life and Death of Mr. Badman may be described as a dialogue between two interlocutors, which joins together a narrative of one man's life and death with didactic commentary and anecdotal illustration. The forward thrust of the narrative concentrates on the death of Mr. Badman, invigorating Mr. Attentive's Christian experience, and arousing him from the spiritual ennui at the beginning of the narrative to active sanctification in which the good works of faith through the grace of God transform bad men and bad times into good.

By allowing Attentive to be transformed by the dialogue between himself and Mr. Wiseman, Bunyan demonstrates the effect discussions of faith have on the believer. Dialogue that reflects upon spiritual truth and personal experience reaffirms the providence of God. Writers before Bunyan used the dialogue to teach lessons, perform dramatic interactions between characters, and display philosophical arguments, making tangible the insubstantial. K.J. Wilson argues that the dialogue represents the mental processes of both the characters and the author, and is incomplete because it is part of human experience, belonging "to the life of civilization, which is itself a dialogue of hope and imperfection" (Wilson 180). The dialogue between Mr. Wiseman and Mr. Attentive is incomplete, reflecting their experience of living in a fallen world. The resolution which they achieve while sitting under the tree is a mere interlude in their hectic lives. They meet virtually by coincidence, lament the dreadful state that England is in, recall from the day before the tolling of Mr. Badman's funeral bell, and launch into an afternoon's discussion of Badman's life and death. When they finish their talk, they get up from under the tree where they had been sitting, and resume their business, more fully equipped to live a life of holiness than they were before they had met, their fellowship sanctifying and energizing both of them.

The parting lines between Mr. Wiseman and Mr. Attentive are filled with the knowledge that the work before them is far beyond their human capabilities:

> Atten. Well, my good Neighbour Wiseman, I perceive that the Sun grows low, and that you have come to a conclusion with Mr. Badmans Life and Death; and therefore I will take my leave of you.

> Only first, let me tell you, I am glad that I met with you to day, and that our hap was to fall in with Mr. Badmans state. I also thank you for your freedom with me, in granting of me your reply to all my questions: I would only beg your Prayers, that God will give me much grace, and that I may neither live nor die as did Mr. Badman.
>
> Wise. My good Neighbour Attentive, I wish your welfare in Soul and Body; and if ought that I have said of Mr. Badmans Life and Death, may be of benefit unto you, I shall be heartily glad; only I desire you to thank God for it, and to pray heartily for me, that I with you may be kept by the Power of God through Faith unto Salvation. (Badman 169)

The hap that Attentive refers to here, I suspect, is the good luck of the Lord because for nonconformists providence was so all pervasive that nothing happened by chance. This incident is far more than an accident, and Attentive's Christian experience has been commissioned to do something about the wickedness of the times; he is to live out fully, in the courage and the dignity of faith, the sanctified

Christian life. Attentive is one of the lambs Bunyan refers to in "The Author to the Reader":

> *Christ sends his* Lambs *in the midst of* Wolves, *not to do like them, but to suffer by them for bearing plain testimony against their bad deeds: But had one not need to walk with a Guard, and to have a Sentinel stand at ones door for this*. *Verily, the flesh would be glad of such help; yea, a spiritual man, could he tell how to get it*. Acts 23. *But I am stript naked of these, and yet am commanded to be faithful in my service for Christ*. *Well then, I have spoken what I have spoken*, *and now come on me what will*, Job 13. 13. (*Badman* 5)

Wiseman sends Attentive, a cherished member of the flock, out into the world where unknown dangers lurk, but where the power of God through faith will keep him safe.

Bunyan is not the first to employ the dialogue as a pedagogical device for illuminating abstract truth, mirroring personal experience and validating God's providential dealings with mankind. On the contrary, the dialogue was in existence long before Bunyan's contemporaries discovered how useful it was for communicating to their readers the complexities of Calvinist doctrine. The dialogue can be traced to Plato, Cicero, and Lucian who each contributed distinctly to its tradition:

> As we enter upon a survey of English dialogues, then, we must grasp clearly and estimate rightly the significance of the work of earlier times. We must realize that with Plato the dialogue is a true literary _form_, since his purpose and its means of fulfilment are made one: his purpose, the discovery of living truth as shaped and conditioned in the minds of men, and his means, the conversation which leads to that discovery of truth. We must realize that with Cicero dialogue is but a convenient and pleasant _method_, of which the end is exposition; that with Lucian, too, it is, typically, a _method_ rather than a _form_, a method of which is satire or simple characterization. (Merrill 11)

In _Mr. Badman_, the method and the form are both important. Bunyan's purpose is to demonstrate the Calvinist doctrines of election, reprobation, and sanctification. His means is the conversation which is lived out in the words and actions of saints and sinners alike. The dialogue within the anecdotes is the form whereby characterization is developed--"for out of the abundance of the heart the mouth speaketh" (Matt. 12: 34)--and spiritual truth is lived out in a dark and sinful world.

Of the many dialogues that could be mentioned as forerunners of Bunyan's, The Dialogues of Creatures Moralysed is just one example. It is a collection of 122 fables that are translated from the fourteenth-century Latin work Dialogus creaturarum moralizatus. Gregory Kratzmann and Elizabeth Gee discuss the hybrid nature of this text in their recent critical edition (1988), where they posit, that while The Dialogues of Creatures Moralysed is part of the dialogue tradition, it "belongs ultimately to the venerable traditions of the sermon exemplum handbook" (Dialogues 3). As Kratzmann and Gee explain, the structure of the individual chapters consists of an individual encounter and a moral gloss:

> Typically, in the first part of each chapter, an encounter between two protagonists from the natural world is described. The two creatures are introduced, described in greater or lesser detail, and a debate ensues, frequently issuing in violent action leading to the death or disgrace of one

> of the participants. A moral is drawn by one of them, often the vanquished. In the second part of the chapter, this moral is given a more general application and is "glossed" (See Dialogue 1 where the term is used specifically) by copious references to _auctores_, by brief anecdotes, and in some cases by fully-developed narratives. _(Dialogues_ 11)

The structure of each chapter, its heading, title, and brevity all contribute to the use of _The Dialogues of Creatures Moralysed_ as a reference-book by preachers. Rosamond Tuve describes the dialogue in each of the stories as vigorous conversation in which "the drama of a rhetorical situation [is] conveyed in tone, gesture, and unobtrusive incongruities" (Tuve 6). She has suggested that the book was meant "to be read in snippets, mined for anecdotes, used or read orally" (Tuve 6). Both the structure of the book, which is well adapted to the needs of those who would use it professionally for sermon preparation and privately for personal devotion, and its contents are edifying and entertaining. _Mr. Badman_, in contrast, is not a reference book, for the forward thrust of the narrative which climaxes with Badman's unconventional death--unconventional in the minds of seventeenth-century readers--does not easily yield a text to be read piecemeal.

As a guide-book that is best read whole, Mr. Badman shares with the dialogue the function of providing Bunyan with a structure whereby he can explore the incongruities of faith while affirming the sovereignty of God. The give-and-take of the dialogue form is shown to its advantage in Mr. Badman in which two believers share their experiences with each other and consider the ways of an arch-sinner. But while Bunyan seems to have found the dialogue form agreeable, he was by no means the only seventeenth-century writer to employ it. Richard Baxter, Arthur Dent, Benjamin Keach, Richard Overton, William Perkins, John Preston, and William Walwyn are only a few of the many who found the form to their liking. Christopher Hill suggests that such writers as Perkins and Preston used the dialogue "to give their writings immediacy and punch," postulating that they might be trying to avoid the censors, a motive he also ascribes to Spenser, Ralegh, Roger Williams, Samuel Hartlib, and James Harrington (Hill 34-35). Bunyan gives his reason for using this ancient literary genre in the address to the reader: "I have also put it into the form of a Dialogue, that I might with more ease to my self, and pleasure to the Reader, perform the work" (Badman 1). His two-fold purpose is as ancient as the genre itself. In the process of edifying his reader, Bunyan entertains him through a dialogue where two people's interaction ranges from a sense at the beginning of helpless anguish at the general badness of the times to the determined sense of purpose that both Wiseman and Attentive share at the conclusion. It is as if the Great Commission of the New Testament to go "into all the world, and preach the gospel to every creature" had been by the dialogue dramatically imparted and infused into Attentive's very being. It is as if the dialogue had dramatically imparted and infused the Great Commission of the New Testament into Attentive's very being.

In the seventeenth century, one of the more common dialogues was that between the teacher and the pupil, as can be seen in Arthur Dent's exceedingly popular Plaine Mans Path-Way. Such teacher-pupil dialogues were not new to the seventeenth century. The Platonic dialogues are often of this sort. Throughout the Middle Ages, colloquies, or scripted conversations, between master and pupils were a common method of instruction, especially for teaching language skills and vocabulary. Dent's dialogue, though similar in form to the Platonic, is not at all similar in content. There is no genuine searching for the truth, and the outcome of the debate is predetermined, revealing itself in the names of the four interlocutors: Theologus, Philagathus, Asunetos, and Antilegon. Theologus is a divine who answers questions given by Philagathus the honest man, while both Asunetos the ignorant man and Antilegon the caviller object frequently to the exposition by Theologus. In an article on Mr. Badman and Plaine Mans Path-way, James Blanton Wharey devotes himself to a detailed analysis of Bunyan's treatment of the nine signs of damnation, preparing the way for Maurice Hussey who explains these signs of reprobation while focusing upon Dent's work. Dent's dialogue, first published in 1601, and reaching 24 editions by 1637 (Wharey 65) is expository in that it conveys the author's particular theology to the reader; it is also casuistical, in that through Asunetos and Antilegon, it raises specific questions about faith while providing the reader with a spiritual paradigm for responding to those objections. Wharey deals briefly with Dent's work in the article "Bunyan's Mr. Badman" (1921), providing a concise summary of the contents in each chapter:

> (I) deals with "Man's Corruption and Misery"; (II) with "Regeneration"; II-XII with the "Nine manifest signs of man's condemnation, namely, pride, whoredom, covetousness, contempt of the gospel, swearing, lying, drunkenness, idleness, oppression"; (XIII) "The Dreadful Effects of Sin on Individuals and Upon Nations"; (XIV) "Marks and Evidences of Salvation"; (XV) "Predestination and Election"; (XVI)

> "Hindrances in the Way of Man's Salvation"; (XVII) "The Sin and Danger of Ignorance With the Vast Importance of the Gospel Ministry as a Remedy"; (XVIII) "Christ's Coming to Judgment"; (XIX) "Conviction and Conversion--Gospel Consolations and Conclusions." (Wharey 66)

From this concise summary it becomes clear that Dent's work is most concerned with educating the believer in the way of salvation, cautioning him logically to avoid "the primrose path of dalliance" (Hamlet I.iii. 50).

Even though a large part of Mr. Badman is expository, in contrast to Plaine Mans, it is more inclined to affect the reader emotionally. Certainly it seeks to educate the reader, but it also works to keep his attention. In spite of his name, Mr. Attentive is not always wholly engrossed in Wiseman's exposition. Admittedly, Attentive is apt and eager to learn the things of God, but he is human, his thoughts occasionally straying from Wiseman's reach. Consequently, Wiseman must employ his rhetorical artfulness to keep Attentive mindful. The exposition is, therefore, steeped in narrative, exempla, entertainment, and stern warnings. Wiseman's efforts to keep Attentive alert through the adroit handling of emotions and the perceptive fielding of questions are both affective and intellectually challenging.

Following Wharey's example, Maurice Hussey also finds interesting parallels between Dent and Bunyan. In the section on whoredom, Hussey points out that Dent concludes with a suggestion forbidding delight in female company. One suspects here that Dent, like St. Paul, might have thought celibacy to be a greater virtue than marriage. However, while Bunyan attempts assiduously to avoid being alone in the company of a woman other than his wife, he never comes close to advocating celibacy over holy matrimony (Hussey 28). Dent's long section on the ramifications of usury, simony, and deceit bring to mind Bunyan's own treatment of commercial ethics in Mr. Badman (Hussey 28). Bunyan's methodical discussion of oaths finds its precedent in Dent where differing sorts of oaths are discussed minutely (Hussey 28). And finally, one similarity which may be the inspiration for Mercy's benevolent making of clothes for the poor in The Pilgrim's Progress, Part Two is Dent's injunction that rich women should conquer idleness by making clothes for the poor, avoiding the charge of oppression which Hussey and Wharey argue is one of the signs of damnation (Hussey 29). During the time that Christiana and the pilgrims remain in Vanity Fair at the house of Mr. Mnason,

> Mercie, as she was wont, laboured much for the Poor, wherefore their Bellys and Backs blessed her, and she was there an Ornament to her profession. (2PP 277)

Of course, Mercy is not at all rich materially, but like the widow and her mite, her poverty only serves to make her generosity even more commendable:

> And he looked up, and saw the rich men casting their gifts into the treasury. And he saw also a certain poor widow casting in thither two mites. And he said, Of a truth I say unto you, that this poor widow hath cast in more than they all: For all these have of their abundance cast in unto the offerings of God: but she of her penury hath cast in all the living that she had. (Luke 21: 1-4)

Another work which sheds light on the tradition of the dialogue which undergirds Mr. Badman is Richard Baxter's A Poor Mans Family Book. This is both a dialogue and a catechism which teaches the reader how to become a true Christian, how to live as a Christian towards God, himself, and others, and how to die as a Christian in hope and comfort. It is a "plain and familiar conference" between Paul, a teacher, who informs Saul, a learner, of the way of

Christian conduct. On the title page, Baxter makes a plea on behalf of those who need his book but cannot afford to buy it:

> With a request to Landlords and Rich Men to give to their tenants and Poor Neighbours whither this or some fitter book. (Poor Mans Family Book title page)

N.H. Keeble in his biography of Baxter explains that Baxter's exhortation to his reader "constitutes an earnest conversation with the reader," with Baxter supplying the reader's part for greater clarity (Keeble 87). Keeble develops the connection between dialogue and catechism by expanding the idea of private instruction by examination where subject matter is analyzed in the form of question and answer (Keeble 88). By using such a technique, the author is forced to go beyond the confines of first-person narration. The writer must move towards character development, putting words in another person's mouth, distinguishing one character from another, and separating the teacher from the pupil. Keeble argues that Baxter's A Poor Mans Family Book is an attempt "to represent the work of grace on a man not by exposition . . . but by a portrayal, based on knowledge of the world, of a typical experience" (Keeble 92). The work, however, generally fails in its dialogue; it is principally didactic, the speakers hardly converse, and their language is rarely colloquial. Rather than being a vehicle for the genuine exchange of ideas, the dialogue in Baxter's hands is merely a mechanical device through which Baxter communicates his message.

In his handling of the dialogue, Bunyan is much more controlled than Baxter, adapting his artistic endeavour to the complexity of the matter at hand, but at the same time, not allowing his sense of moral purpose to obliterate his artistry. Bunyan communicates the message of the importance of living a holy life in the midst of a sinful people while acknowledging the impossibility in human terms of that challenge. Wiseman remains convinced in the exposition of the dictates of his faith, while the call of faith in the exempla is seldom straightforward. Morality is disturbingly ambivalent, and cases of conscience are not easily reconciled. For instance, the nobleman guilty of infanticide is not punished (Badman 52); and, Wiseman, because of his poverty and youth, is unable to accuse a great man before some magistrate of blasphemy (Badman 54-55). It becomes evident that in this troubled world few things are sure, even for a nonconformist whose faith is stalwart. When Attentive laments that the times are changing for the worse, Wiseman cautions him not to base his judgments upon particulars:

> Make no Conclusions, man: for he that hath the hearts of men in his hand, can

> change them from worse to better, and so
> bad times into good. (Badman 14)

Even though the times are bad and seem to be getting worse, Wiseman knows that in spite of appearances God is still in control. Nonetheless, Wiseman is prepared to draw conclusions about Badman's miserable state at his death (14), based upon the particulars of what Wiseman knows about Badman's life. The one certainty in this world is that it is a slippery place where moral judgments should not be drawn hastily, if they should be drawn at all, and that in some cases they cannot be. By employing the dialogue, Bunyan maximizes its ability to convey absolute truth in a morally ambivalent world, teaching the saints to be vigilant in all they say and do, and to be as "wise as serpents, and harmless as doves" (Matt. 10: 16).

As a summons to holy living, the dialogue between Wiseman and Attentive is a preacher's fabrication, able to achieve closure by mirroring Bunyan's confidence in the promises of God, demonstrating the theological truths of Calvinism. Where the dialogue appears complete, it blossoms into exposition, establishing the certainties of faith as incontrovertible. The pilgrim's experience for Wiseman and Attentive beyond the shade of the tree under which they are sitting, where theological niceties do not always mesh with reality, however, is as incomplete, inconclusive, and tentative as life itself, and will be resolved only in death. Like Christian in The Pilgrim's Progress who is not completely sanctified until he passes through the gates of the Celestial City, the certainty of salvation for Wiseman and Attentive is never secure.

The insecurity inherent in the Calvinist doctrine of election compels the believer to be well trained in Scripture, right doctrine, and proper Christian conduct. Without true knowledge, the believer will not be able to recognize the evidences of salvation or the signs of damnation. The dialogue in Mr. Badman, as a result, is used as a device for religious instruction, with its pedagogy being as varied as the genre itself.

Of the various kinds of dialogue, there are three groups that can be readily classified: polemical, expository, and philosophical. Usually one interlocutor is the author's mouth-piece, dispensing truth at the prompting of the addressee. However, in some dialogues, there is a confrontation where one interlocutor defends the faith and the other attacks it. Charles Herford observes that

> The genius of the Protestant dialogue tended to put the defence of the new teaching in the mouth of the younger, of the poorer man, while the elder, or the more powerful, or the superior in social ranks defended tradition. (Herford 44)

While some Marxist critics will see this as evidence of a class struggle, a seventeenth-century reader, well acquainted with the Bible, would recognize immediately the allusion to the Pauline dictum in the first epistle to the Corinthians:

> But God hath chosen the foolish things
> of the world to confound the wise; and
> God hath chosen the weak things of the
> world to confound the things which are
> mighty. (1 Cor. 1: 27)

This subversion of the natural order where old men are instructed by young children is more a religious convention than an example of political revolution, and does not really apply to Mr. Badman. Wiseman is the elder and wiser of the two while Attentive is the willing recipient of Wiseman's advice.

A subversion of expectations which is manifested in the younger teaching the elder in some Protestant catechisms can also be seen in the role reversals of speaker and addressee, and catechist and catechumen in Anglo-Saxon riddling, and catechetical questioning and answering. In genuine questioning, the speaker does not know the answer to the question, and hopes that the addressee does, while, in a riddle, the speaker knows the answer and depends upon the fact that the addressee does not (Hansen 131). In catechism, a similar situation occurs, where the speaker knows the answer, but poses such questions as will uncover the addressee's ignorance, not to humiliate him, but to strengthen his faith through knowledge and understanding. The source of entertainment in riddling is in the finding of the answer, or in realizing the connection between the riddle's question and the answer if it is provided, as it sometimes is. In catechism the delight is also double: in the praise that the addressee receives for knowing the answer and in the confidence that comes from a sure faith. The mutual delight that catechism proffers to both speaker and addressee is evident when Prudence catechizes Christiana's children in The Pilgrim's Progress, Part Two, and they respond correctly to all the questions. At the boys' unerring answers, Prudence praises them variously by saying: "Good Boy," "Good Boy still," and "A very good Boy also, and one that has learned well" (2PP 224-226). She turns to Christiana during the catechism when it becomes obvious that the boys have been particularly well schooled, for not only are the boys being tested, but Christiana's rearing of them is also being tried, and says: "You are to be commended for thus bringing up your Children" (2PP 224).

Bunyan's contribution to catechetical literature, his Instruction for the Ignorant (1675), is only one of many catechisms that were published in the seventeenth century. Nonconformist catechisms, in contrast to Anglican and Puritan ones, place greater stress on "narrowly religious concerns" than on "social aspects of the ideological contest" (*MW* 8: xxxiii). Such catechetical writers as Bunyan, John Owen, and Joseph Alleine underscore the duty of parents and masters to ground their children and servants in Scripture and right doctrine. Bunyan intended his catechism to remind his reader of the fundamentals of the faith, to convert unbelievers, and to convince those who have listened to his sermons, but have ignored his message of the inevitability of judgment:

> *Holy and beloved, Although I have designed this little Treatise for publick and common benefit, yet considering that I am to you a debtor not only in common Charity, but by reason of special Bonds which the Lord hath laid upon me to you-ward, I could do no less (being driven from you in presence, not affection), but first present you with this little Book; not for that you are wanting in the things contained herein, but to put you again in remembrance of first things, and to give you occasion to present something to your carnal relations that may be (if God will) for their awakening and conversion; accept it therefore as a*

> *token of my Christian Remembrance of you.*
>
> *Next, I present it to all those unconverted, old and young, who have been at any time under my Preaching, and yet remain in their sins: And I entreat them also that they receive it as a token of my love to their immortal Souls; yea, I charge them as they will answer it in the day of the terrible judgment, that they read, ponder, and receive this wholsom Medicine prepared for them. Now the God of Blessing bless it to the awakening of many sinners, and the salvation of their souls by faith in Jesus Christ. Amen.* (*MW* 8: 7)

The form of *Instruction for the Ignorant* differs little from other seventeenth-century catechisms, with its question and answer format, use of Scripture citations in the margins, length, and organization. Richard Greaves explains what distinguishes Bunyan's catechism from other seventeenth-century catechisms:

> It is clearly arranged in six parts. At this point, however, the uniqueness of Bunyan's work becomes apparent. The parts are these: an opening section of

> doctrinal questions and answers; a section on confession of sin; a section on faith; a section on prayer; a section on self-denial; and a brief sermon conclusion. This differs strikingly from traditional catechisms, with their sections on baptismal vows, expositions of the Apostle's Creed, the Ten Commandments, the Lord's Prayer, and the sacraments, and normally concluding with various prayers. Many other catechisms, of course, do not follow this pattern, in either structure or contents. Generally, Puritan and sectarian catechisms display more flexible organization and less formality in content. (MW 8: xxxiv-xxxv)

Many of the characteristics found in Bunyan's other writings may also be found in Instruction for the Ignorant. Bunyan adopts a plain writing style in which he uses simple language, frequent questions, and short answers to convey doctrine. In this respect, Bunyan differs markedly from Baxter whose dialogue and catechism The Poor Man's Family Book can be very technical in places,

> using such theological terms as matter, form, genus, species, accident, formal

> virtues, volative or willing virtue, penetrability, habitual and actual holiness, and sentential and executive justification. (MW 8: xl)

Bunyan's Instructions also avoids polemic: he does not unnecessarily involve himself in controversy, preferring instead to teach his reader the way of faith (MW 8: xliii).

In addition to the catechetical affinities that dialogue has with the progressive interplay of question and answer towards certain truth, there can also be found in the dialogue a tentative probing and searching for solutions to cases of conscience which in the final analysis can only be inconclusive. In the conduct-book tradition, the reader is shown by example how to solve cases of conscience. The moral dilemma is presented and its solution is demonstrated practically and pragmatically. While G.A. Starr cautions against classifying such a search for truth as "full-fledged dialectic" (Starr 37), he asserts that the use of the dialogue "allows an inductive spirit to prevail" (Starr 49).

The inductive spirit that Starr observes in conduct-books may also be found in the exempla and moralized anecdotes where a host of separate events and episodic interludes prove a general statement. The speakers grope towards truth, resolving gradually the great paradox of living a holy life in a world full of sin and corruption. The process of sanctification is punctuated with doubt, hesitation, and tentative judgments, illustrating how proper moral conduct is achieved, enabling the reader to identify with the protagonists, and apply to his immediate situation their experience. The inductive method of the anecdotes sharply contrasts the deductive dialogue between Wiseman and Attentive. They begin their discourse with the proposition that all men are sinners and move through particular examples in their narrative that illustrate that proposition. This technique of moving from the universal to the particular is much more conducive to achieving closure than the opposite, for with deduction one always ends with the concrete and the particular; with induction, on the other hand, universals are the mark, but are never completely lined up in one's sights. As a result of the deductive dialogue that Bunyan employs, faith is grounded and made more sure than if the inductive method of the anecdotes had been allowed to predominate in Mr. Badman.

A deductive assumption that permeates the Christian tradition is that talk is an indicator of the state of one's soul:

> A good man out of the good treasure of his heart bringeth forth that which is good; and an evil man out of the evil treasure of his heart bringeth forth that which is evil; for of the abundance

> of the heart his mouth speaketh. (Luke 6: 45)

The words one speaks are signs of salvation or evidences of damnation; however, words are not enough for judgment. One's whole life must be examined minutely. In the King James Bible, the sense of the word "conversation" goes far beyond the modern connotation of an intimate talk among a small group of people. It has more to do with the course of a person's life and the manner in which it is conducted. In Psalm 37, those who are "of upright conversation" may be slain by the wicked who have drawn their swords and bent their bows to cast down the poor and the needy (14). However, he who orders "his conversation aright" will be shown the salvation of God (Psalms 50: 23). Paul reminds the church in Galatians of his "conversation in time past in the Jews' religion" (1: 13), and how he persecuted Christians relentlessly. As well, the reader in Hebrews is urged to let his "conversation be without covetousness" (13: 5). Throughout Mr. Badman, the saint is one whose "conversation" is made up of much action and few words; the hypocrite, by contrast, is an artist in dissembling who deceives with his tongue. Bunyan's remarks to the reader conclude with the benediction:

> Now God Almighty give his people Grace, not to hate or malign Sinners, nor yet to choose any of their wayes, but to

> keep themselves pure from the blood of all men, by speaking and doing according to that Name and those Rules that they profess to know, and love; for Jesus Christs sake. (Badman 10)

Bunyan's dialogue between Mr. Wiseman and Mr. Attentive is a conversation of righteousness that is expressed in holiness. Salzman rightly observes that it is in the exposition of the dialogue where Bunyan places his emphasis (Salzman 252), and where the reader is challenged intellectually to accept the dictates of his faith.

The dialogue between Mr. Wiseman and Mr. Attentive ranges from unabashed exposition to momentary snatches of true repartee, and honest conversation. Bunyan is least successful in recreating dialogue in the long expository passages where Wiseman, well schooled in nonconformist preaching, numbers his points. His sermon on how swearing may be distinguished from cursing (Badman 29-31) is an example which illustrates the ineffectiveness of lop-sided dialogue where the preponderating dominance by one of the interlocutors defies the balanced, symmetrical participation found in an "ideal dialogue," such as that which took place between Adam and Eve before the Fall. Those times in the narrative when Wiseman and Attentive appear to interact with each other involve some lively comebacks, especially whenever Attentive urges Wiseman to hurry along to the description of Mr. Badman's death:

> Atten. _Well: Let us at this time leave this matter_, _and return again to Mr_. Badman.
>
> _Wise_. With all my heart will I proceed to give you a relation of what is yet behind of his Life, in order to our discourse of his Death.
>
> Atten. _But pray do it with as much brevity as you can_.
>
> _Wise_. Why? are you a weary of my relating of things?
>
> Atten. _No. But it pleases me to hear a great deal in few words_.
>
> _Wise_. I profess not my self an artist that way, but yet as briefly as I can, I will pass through what of his Life is behind. (_Badman_ 100)

In this dialogue, there is good will, mutual respect, and voluntary participation among the speakers which are indispensable for ideal dialogue to occur. Wiseman and Attentive share equally, interact and engage one another's attention and, in the process, communicate honestly with each other.

In addition to reflecting Bunyan's theological view of the relationships fallen man shares with his fellow human beings and with God, the dialogue between Mr. Wiseman and Mr. Attentive is a literary device that governs the whole book, unifying and advancing the episodic narrative, and attempting, as well, to distinguish the two men from each other. (That Bunyan is only partially successful in this regard has profound implications which will be discussed later in this dissertation.) The dialogue gradually moves toward an elation of Badman's death, capitalizing upon the popularly held view that the manner of one's dying is an indication of whether a person is bound for heaven or for hell. For example, the "godly old Puritan" who lay dying with the sweet sound of music filling his nurse's ears (Badman 144) is obviously bound for heaven, while John Cox with his horrid self-evisceration is damned to hell (Badman 158-160).

The dialogue advances the narrative, and it aids in the characterization of Bunyan's two interlocutors. Wiseman's opening lines reveal much about him personally. He is up early, and although the narrative does not suggest why, given what the text reveals about his sincerity and faith, one can comfortably assume that he is probably in prayer for the moral and spiritual betterment of England and its people. Wiseman is a fruitful Christian who knows well the importance of praying for the coming of the kingdom of God, and Bunyan may have treated him very sensitively because of the persecution nonconformists experienced from 1660 onwards. Furthermore, Wiseman is well enough acquainted with Attentive to see that something is bothering him:

> Good morrow, my good Neighbour, Mr. Attentive, whither are you walking so early this morning? methinks you look as if you were concerned about something more than ordinary. Have you lost any of your Cattell, or what is the matter? (Badman 13)

Not only is Wiseman like a good counsellor who perceives from Attentive's demeanour that something is wrong, he is like a good pastor who stays for the answer, able to administer an efficacious physic for the comfort of Attentive's soul. Wiseman is the obverse of Mr. Worldly-Wiseman in The Pilgrim's Progress, the one a resident of the City of God and the other the City of Destruction. Mr. Worldly-Wiseman's wisdom is carnal, fleshly, and legalistic, while Wiseman's is spiritual, resulting from a heart that has been cleansed whiter than snow by the blood of Christ and the grace of God.

Attentive's character is also revealed. He often asks leading questions which seem to provide the pretext for Wiseman to start preaching, but there are times when Attentive speaks for himself. Attentive contributes a number of the judgment stories to Wiseman's exposition, and he is ready to accept at face value Wiseman's observations, recognizing the authority of his spiritual leadership. Attentive incurs Wiseman's impatience by pleading with him to return to what he perceives to be the goal of the narrative, a description of Badman's death. In this way, the reader's anticipation is heightened with each entreaty and each rebuff, causing him to stay the course, like Attentive yearning for the closure of the narrative, but hearing, instead, Wiseman's exposition from which the conclusions of the faith and the eternal verities of God are made plain. Bunyan's ideal reader would have been gratified by the exposition, but the actual reader, someone possibly like Attentive, might have had less noble expectations, listening to the dialogue with the hope of hearing something sensational about the way Badman died.

By beginning the narrative with generalizations about the badness of the times, and giving Wiseman a rationale for addressing Attentive in the early hours of the morning, Bunyan's focus upon Badman's death gradually becomes clearer. In response to Wiseman's queries, Attentive acknowledges that Wiseman did "give a right ghess of me" (Badman 13), and that the badness of the times is indeed a concern for him. Wiseman charges into a boisterous explanation of the parallel between the wickedness of society in general and the height of sin within the hearts of individual citizens. This disquisition begins the long process of particularizing the universal--albeit Calvinist--truth of Attentive's remark. Neither he nor Mr. Wiseman is content to allow his talk to remain abstract, and they begin to centre it upon the example of Mr. Badman.

There is a certain dynamic that occurs when two people engage in genuine dialogue. They come together, share ideas, agree or disagree, unite in friendship or part in opposition, transforming one another by their talk. Sin-laden dialogue, in contrast, is of opposition and conflict, where the speakers meet, clash, and separate, each more isolated than before. The futility of such dialogue is illustrated in the conversation Mrs. Badman attempts to have with her husband before she dies. Since he is unwilling to listen to her, her talk never rises substantially above a monologue which he would describe as a harangue:

> Wise. When she drew near her end, she called for her husband, and when he was come to her, she told him, That now he and she must part, and said she, God knows, and thou shalt know, that I have been a loving, faithful Wife unto thee; my prayers have been many for thee; and as for all the abuses that I have received at thy hand, those I freely and heartily forgive, and still shall pray

for thy conversion, even as long as I breathe in this world. But husband, I am going thither, where no bad man shall come, and if thou dost not convert, thou wilt never see me more with comfort; let not my plain words offend thee: I am thy dying wife, and of my faithfulness to thee, would leave this Exhortation with thee: Break off thy sins, fly to God for mercy while mercies gate stands open; remember, that the day is coming, when thou, though now lusty and well, must lye at the gates of death, as I do: And what wilt thou then do, if thou shalt be found with a naked soul, to meet with the Cherubims with their flaming swords? yea, what wilt thou then do, if Death and Hell shall come to visit thee, and thou in thy sins, and under the Curse of the Law?

Atten. This was honest and plain: but what said Mr. Badman to her?

Wise. He did what he could to divert her talk, by throwing in other things; he also shewed some kind of pity to her now, and would ask her, What she would have? and with various kind of

> words put her out of her talk; so when she see that she was not regarded, she fetcht a deep sigh, and lay still. (Badman 142)

Indeed, a living, reconciliatory dialogue does not occur much in Mr. Badman; in truth, the times are few when the barriers are lowered, the gulf of sin is bridged, and people can begin to talk, becoming one. This certainly never occurs between Mrs. Badman and her husband; their discourse is quite incomplete, and even his courting of her is a shameful travesty of that conversation which brings two people into the unity of marriage. Perhaps sustained ideal dialogue is possible only in either a pre-lapsarian or millennial world, with sin in this world obstructing true communication between people.

Milton certainly holds this view in Paradise Lost where the speech patterns of Adam and Eve change markedly after their disobedience to God. Before, their speech is graceful, eloquent, stylistically proper and pure; after, it becomes staccato, full of indecisiveness, mixed-up syntax, colloquialisms, and so on. Milton, of course, is reflecting their disordered minds through their speech. Commenting on Milton's use of dialogue in Paradise Lost, Leonard Mustazza makes some observations that can be applied to the dialogue in the fallen world of Mr. Badman. Prior to the Fall, angels and men used language for devotion and social communication, instruction, exchange of ideas, and simple delight in conversation (Mustazza 14). After the Fall of man, language falls too, and such satanic features as "lying, flattery, insult, [and] false accusation" are added to human discourse (Mustazza 16). Mustazza remarks that while man can freely choose between constructive and malevolent discourse, Satan and his rout cannot (Mustazza 17). For man, grace through the cross of Christ realigns language with its original social and devotional purposes. As long as Wiseman and Attentive are under grace, their discourse has the potential for completion, and at the very least, the possibility exists for them to speak the language of redemption and reconciliation. Because they are imperfect and sinful, they will always be in opposition at least partially to the process of sanctification that is taking place in their lives, but as each shows "out of a good conversation his works with meekness of wisdom" (James 3: 13), he will unite with his Creator his words and actions.

In addition to making the redemptive and reconciliatory grace of Christ explicit to the reader, the dialogue advances the narrative by allowing Wiseman and Attentive to interact with each other. They respond emotionally to what the other has said, their hearts and minds concurring in vital communication. Wiseman's address on the horror of eternal damnation deeply affects Mr. Attentive:

> I feel my heart even shake at the
> thoughts of coming into such a state.
> Hell! who knows that is yet alive, what
> the torments of Hell are? (Badman 16)

Attentive is so moved by what Wiseman has to say that he stays to hear the argument, curious to know how Wiseman could determine with such certainty that Mr. Badman is damned. After all, the New Testament enjoins believers not to judge lest they themselves be judged.

Wiseman's case is simple. He was at Badman's death-bed and saw for himself the portentous event in all its horror. The prize that compels both Attentive and the reader to stay until the end of the narrative is the promise of something sensational. Wiseman then embarks upon a course of educating Attentive and the reader so that Badman's quiet death can be properly understood. First, Wiseman narrates the disparate events of Badman's life and then he describes the death itself: "Because a relation of the first may the more affect you, when you shall hear the second" (Badman 16). Once the pattern is firmly established, dealing with the life first and then the death, Wiseman does not deviate from it. He has a story to tell and a lesson to teach, that Badman's quiet death is a sure sign of damnation, for he has been utterly forsaken and abandoned by God.

CHAPTER THREE

"EXAMPLES GROSS AS EARTH": MR. BADMAN AND THE EXEMPLUM

Driven by the desire to educate the saints in the way of holiness, Bunyan presents to his reader an attainable ideal with practical advice for its achievement, instilling within him both the confidence to seek God for grace during times of trouble, and the realization of man's utter dependence upon the Holy Spirit for salvation and sanctification. Bunyan utilizes the principles and patterns of the conduct-book tradition and the didacticism of the dialogue in *The Life and Death of Mr. Badman*, employing, as well, the dramatic incident, arresting language, and vivid imagery of the medieval *exemplum* to encourage the saints to accept their holy calling and to forewarn sinners of the terror of God's judgment.

As an illuminating narrative, the medieval *exemplum* imitates life and demonstrates abstract ethical principles or theological precepts. It may be employed to elucidate secular discourse, or animate sermons delivered from the pulpit, promoting good and correcting vice. As the medieval scholar Larry Scanlon observes,

> the exemplum unites two distinct modes of discourse, the narrative, and the rhetorical (i.e., the polemical or dogmatic). The exemplum was a way of using narrative, an incorporation of

> narrative into a discourse of abstract assertion. (*Literal Authority* 2)

As narrative inserted into oration, the *exemplum* embodies ideas, qualities, and concepts, rapidly becoming indispensable for the rhetorician. Sources for such stories are as manifold as they are varied, ranging from myth and history to fiction. While it is true that some stories are taken from the first-hand accounts of personal experience, many were found in *exemplaria*, those vast collections of stories arranged for preachers to aid in their sermon preparation. Regardless of their source, whether Scripture and legend, ancient chronicle and current event, or folklore and scientific disquisition, *exempla* revitalized sermon delivery.

Medieval mendicant friars understood well the facility of *exempla*, whether mythic, historic, or fictive to engage and maintain audience attention. In their attempt to go beyond the church doors to preach the gospel, mendicants used the *exemplum* to delight and move their audience, challenging the intellect and affecting the heart. They could no longer wander through a maze of theological dispute, but had to punctuate their exposition with simply-told human stories, often circulating racy anecdotes with straightforward maxims and wonderful punch lines.

Exempla are stories with direct moral applications to specific cases of conscience. Because of its narrative and rhetorical nature, an exemplum must be distinguished from an example which is always illustrative, but not always narrative. Wiseman's reference to "Pharaoh of Moses and Aaron, and Simon Magus of Simon Peter" (Badman 139) is not an exemplum, even though it is illustrative of Badman's condition on his sickbed. Fearing Hell and desiring that his life would be lengthened in this world, Mr. Badman, like Pharaoh and Simon Magus, "did beg prayers of good people" (Badman 139). Pharaoh, offering once again to let the people of Israel go free, sought the prayers of Moses and Aaron when "mighty thunderings and hail" (Ex. 9: 28) pummelled his land. The prayers of Simon Magus are just as self-motivated as Pharaoh's. Being severely chastened for offering money to the Apostles so that those on whom he laid his hands could "receive the Holy Ghost" (Acts 8: 19), Simon Magus does not repent or promise to repent, but says to Peter: "Pray ye to the Lord for me, that none of these things which ye have spoken come upon me" (Acts 8: 24). The observation that Wiseman makes of Mr. Badman may, perhaps, be applied to the Pharaoh and Simon Magus:

> His own strength was whole in him, he saw nothing of the treachery of his own heart; for had he, he would never have been so free to make promises to God of amendment. He would rather have been afraid, that if he had mended, he should

> have turned with the dog to his vomit, and have begged prayers of Saints, and assistance from heaven upon *that* account, that he might have been kept from doing so. (*Badman* 139)

Bunyan's simple act of naming those forerunners of his reprobate effectively illustrates the point if his reader is thoroughly familiar with the Old and New Testaments. Providing the citation in the margin is helpful if the reader is prepared to look it up; nevertheless, a spare reference is not an *exemplum*, but must be recast as a narrative with dialogue and conflict, and its self-evident moral must be practised on a real-life situation. Because *exempla* can actualize all sorts of generalizations, they are difficult to disentangle thematically or topically. Anything could "bring grist to the Mendicant homilist's mill":

> Brother tells tales about brother. Rectors and village priests, friendly Cistercian monks, the Visitor of the Order when he comes, religious of every kind, the nun, the layman, the gossiping housewife acting as host, even the midwife divulge the little tragedies or successes of the family circle or the

> group of their intimates. (Owst, Preaching 62-63)

The exemplum may be domestic, describing the usual affairs of daily life, or it may be savage, transforming the banal and the horrific into moral lessons.

An instrument of warning, the exemplum terrible is the variation of those exempla which commend and encourage. The distinguishing feature of the exemplum terrible is the judgment of God where the castigation of sinners for unrepentant sin, demonic possession, suicide, domestic violence, and a plethora of disasters is graphically detailed. Because collections of such tales flourished in the seventeenth century in the form of encyclopedic judgment books, laymen and clerics alike cataloguing God's providential dealings, the discussion of the medieval exemplum terrible and seventeenth-century judgment stories will be reserved for the following chapter. For now, the discussion will revolve around those exempla which commend, teach by example, and exhort.

In the endeavour to persuade, mendicants blurred the distinctions between truth and fiction, embellishing the first-hand accounts of eye witnesses with affective decoration. Exempla, consequently, range between fact and fiction, the preacher either creating his own stories to illustrate moral truth, or recovering them from his historical, cultural, and social milieu. By the time of the

English Renaissance, Sir Philip Sidney was able to discuss in The Defence of Poetry whether or not fiction was a suitable means for conveying moral truth:

> Only the poet, disdaining to be tied to any such subjection, lifted up with the vigour of his own invention, doth grow in effect another nature, in making things either better than nature bringeth forth, or, quite anew, forms such as never were in nature, as the Heroes, Demigods, Cyclops, Chimeras, Furies, and such like: so as he goeth hand in hand with nature, not enclosed within the narrow warrant of her gifts, but freely ranging only within the zodiac of his own wit. Nature never set forth the earth in so rich tapestry as divers poets have done; neither with so pleasant rivers, fruitful trees, sweet-smelling flowers, nor whatsoever else may make the too much loved earth more lovely. Her world is brazen, the poets only deliver a golden. (78)

This debate was certainly not over by Bunyan's time, for, while seventeenth-century Protestants still preferred eye-witness accounts, stories were being told and writers such as Bunyan and Defoe could vacillate between allegory and realism, both veering toward novelistic fiction.

Through the telling of tales to enliven exposition, mendicants opened new worlds for their listeners, setting them free from

> the narrow round of daily manorial duties, from the mere idle chatter of the pedlars and the inns, [and] the obscenities of street entertainers. (Preaching in Medieval England 81)

By making all England their parish and all English life fit for storytelling, mendicant friars revolutionized sermonizing, and created a legitimate place for fiction within the Kingdom of God.

The ever-increasing demand to have a variety of good stories available for sermon illustration prompted clerics in the Middle Ages to compile manuals of sermon exempla or exemplaria. Alexander of Neckham of St. Albans and Odo of Cheriton collaborated on the thirteenth-century De Naturis Rerum, a collection of entertaining tales whose sources were biblical, historical, monkish, and legendary. The Liber Exemplorum and the Speculum Laicorum provide the next stage in the development of the exemplaria. They are innovative in their use of subject headings and alphabetical arrangements (Preaching in Medieval England 300). In Preachers, Florilegia and Sermons, Richard and Mary Rouse discuss the initial appearance of non-alphabetized exemplaria, and how the need to have better access to the stories at hand encouraged the development of a system of identification (i.e., a paragraph mark, or such a label as exemplum) to facilitate easy retrieval of these stories from the texts of sermons (81)--perhaps a medieval precursor to John Bunyan's manual signs found in the margins of Mr. Badman.[1] The Lumen anime (1332) is another compilation of

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[1] Readers who come to Mr. Badman cannot help noticing in the margins the distinctive printer's device of the hand with a pointing index finger. Bunyan's use of the manual sign, which can be traced back to the work of medieval scribes copying manuscripts, is specifically intended to help the reader understand the importance of certain passages in this remarkable narrative fiction (Glaister 141). Other names given to this printer's device include the pointer, and the "mutton fist" as noted in Harper's Dictionary of the Graphic Arts. William W.E. Slights discusses some of the implications of the author's highlighting his own text and its effect upon the reader in "The Edifying Margins of Renaissance English Books":

> Even the simple printer's device of the hand with extended finger represented a standardizing of points of emphasis and a co-opting from the reader of what had long been a hand-drawn, individualized directional signal scribbled in the margin to

exempla that provides preachers with tales that drawn from natural history. They are complete with "proofs" from the authorities and are arranged alphabetically under 76 different topics. As the quintessential preacher's manual, the _Lumen anime_ also provides the preachers with a collection of extracts from the Fathers, doctors, and philosophers, classified under 267 alphabetically arranged topics" (Rouse 200).

John Bromyard was one of those preachers who was well acquainted with the lives of those to whom he delivered his sermons. He was able to reproduce accurately and vividly the sights and sounds of village life. His _Summa Praedicantium_ is one of the largest alphabetized compilations of moralized anecdotes intended to ease the preacher's workload. J.W. Blench quotes an _exemplum_ whose source is found in Bromyard's _Summa Predicantium_:

> remind him or her of what had seemed an important point at a particular moment during a particular reading session. (698)

The narrative effect of the use of the manual sign is beyond the purview of this brief note, but Slights's article strengthens the linkage between Glaister's point about scribal practice, mine about medieval paragraph headings, and the printer's device of the manual sign or its more interesting appellation, "the mutton fist."

> This felyshyp that speketh and malygneth agenst the chirche, in theyr resonynge & argumentes to oppresse the auctoryte thereof, may wel be lykned to a dogge when the mone shyneth fayre & bryghte, he barketh & bayeth even agenst it as he wolde destroye it: & yet he neyther vnderstondeth what it is, nor it lyeth not in his power to hurte it. And this dogge thus barkynge letteth other men of theyr reste, & seaseth not tyll he be rapt on the heed & so slayne & throwen in a dyche. (128)

The image is transparent, the moral immediate, and the lesson straightforward. Bromyard clearly argues for the use of fiction to convey moral truth; the story is not told "for its own sake, but for its signification" (Owst, Literature and Pulpit 155).

Another medieval sermon manual, John Mirk's Festial, possesses a stock of good stories that preachers utilized in their sermon preparation. He usually sets his exempla off from the body of the text with the heading "Narracio." One of the stories that Mirk tells illustrates the need for all men to be shriven:

Narracio

I rede yn a myracull of Saynt Wenfryd þat a man come to hur, vnneþe broght apon two croches, full of all maner woo. þen, be helpe of þys holy mayden and virgyn, he was helud, and soo al day aftyr went hole ynto yche hous of þe abbay, þonkyng God and þe holy mayden of hys hele. But at nyght he ȝode ynto hys bed þer he lay before, hopyng to haue gon yn þe morow home al hole. Also sone as he come ynto hys bed, anon þe sekenes toke hym wors þan hit dyd befor; and soo lay all nyght cryyng þat hit was rewth to here. Then, on þe morow, mongkes come to hym askynge what he had agylt, þat hys sekenes was comen aȝeyne. And he sayde: "Noþyng." þen sayde on: "Was þou schryuen seþen þou come?" And he sayde nay, for sothe he had no nede, and sayde he stele neuer ox ne cow ne horse, ne neuer dyd no greues synne; wherfor he had no nede to schryue hym. þen sayde þe monke || aȝeyne þus: "For þagh a man do no gret synnes, he may do soo mony venyall synnes vnschryuen, may charche his soule, and make a dedly synne. For

> ryght as a man may wyth mony smal cornys ouercharche a strong hors, so wyth mony venyall synnys v[n]schryuen, may charche hys soule, þat he schall fall ynto þe lake of helle. Then þys man toke a prest and schrof hym. And when he was schryuen, anon he had hys hele, and was hole ay aftyr; and heyly þonked God þat he was helut, boþe yn body and yn soule, by confessyon and prayer of þis holy mayden Seynt Wenefryde.
>
> And so pray we to God þat we may be helud yn our bodyes and specyaly in oure soules, þat we may haue þe blysse þat he boght vs to. Amen. (100-101)

The preacher's task is two-fold: to stir the intellect by bringing his congregation face to face with the logical conclusions of arguments and their inevitable consequences, and to stir their emotions to piety. Such medieval preachers as John Mirk and Richard Rolle encouraged the inclusion of the emotions in one's faith, nurturing a religion of devotion where the surest way to a more fulfilling relationship with God is through unfeigned religious sentiment. Since the Fall in the Garden corrupted man, his intellect is no longer solely to be trusted, and so one must also receive trustworthy knowledge of God through divine inspiration. Of course, man is so unworthy of God's love and affection that he must simply wait, and pray, and hope that God will answer him.

This sense of man's inability to come to a true knowledge of God through the use of his fallen intellect drives faith further in the direction of affective piety. As a result, many late medieval Christians used meditation upon the life, suffering, and death of Christ as a way to prepare for divine inspiration, should God in his mercy decide to show such unwarranted grace to the supplicant. Rolle sought spiritual purification through strict physical self-control, and directed his affections towards the incarnate Christ. He illustrates the process of finding solace in the careful and minute detailing of his meditation upon Christ's suffering when he compares the wounds on Christ's body to the openings in a "dufhouse":

> Efte, swet Ihesu, þy body is like to a dufhouse, for a dufhouse is ful of holys: so is þy body ful of woundes. And as a doue pursued of an hauk, yf she mow cache an hool of hir hous she is siker ynowe, so, swete Ihesu, in temptacioun, þy woundes ben best refuyt to vs. Now, swet Ihesu, I beseche þe, in euche temptacioun graunt me grace of some hoole of þy woundes, and lykynge to

> abide in mynd of þy passioun. Also, swete Ihesu, þy body is like to a hony combe, for hit is in euche a way ful of cellis, and euch celle ful of hony, so þat hit may nat be touched without yeld of swetnesse; so, swet Ihesu, þy body is ful of cellys of deuocioun, þat hit may nat be touched of a clene soule without swetnesse of lykynge. Now, swet Ihesu, graunt me grace to touche þe with criynge mercy for my synnes, with desyre to gostly contemplacioun, with amendynge of my lyf and contynuynge in goodnes, in stody to fulfille þy hestes and deli[t]a[b]ly to abyde in mynd of þy passioun. Pater noster. Aue. (Rolle, Prose and Verse 74-75)

Although this meditation is not an exemplum, it illustrates a development in sermon technique by which the preacher slows the forward movement of his sermon through close attention to detail--a method also employed by those who utilized the exemplum in sermon delivery.

Narrative retards exposition the way meditation does, forcing the listener to reflect upon what was just said. This reflection placed just before the conclusion of a sermon enables the listener to consider a concrete application of the moral truth propounded from the pulpit by the preacher, the listener imagining a case of conscience where an ethical dilemma is realized, or seeing the way of faith lived out in hope. The gashes in Rolle's meditation become places of refuge for the Christian, providing him with the protection that the "dufhouse" gives the dove while the hawk circles above it. By meditating upon the wounds on Christ's body, Richard Rolle is protected from the world, the flesh, and the devil, achieving a new level of spirituality.

Bunyan draws a similar picture to Rolle's of the "dufhouse," maintaining the truth of Christ's resurrection. In *Some Gospel-Truths Opened* (1656), Bunyan describes the meeting between the doubting disciple Thomas and the resurrected Christ:

> Another time Jesus comes to his disciples again, and then *Thomas* was with them; then so soon as the Lord had said, Peace be unto you, he turned himselfe to *Thomas*, and said to him. *Thomas, Reach hither thy finger, and behold my hands, and reach hither thy hand, and thrust it into my side, and be not faithless but believing*, v. 27. As much as if the Lord should have said, Come *Thomas*, thou hast doubted of the

> truth of my resurrection very much; Thou saiest that thou wilt not believe, except thou doe feel with thy fingers the print of the nailes, and doe thrust thy hand into my side. Come Thomas, reach hither thy finger, and behold my hands, and see if there were not the nayls driven through them; And reach hither thy hands and thrust them into my side, and feele if I have not the very hole in it still, that was made with the Speare that the Souldier did thrust into it, and be not so full of unbelief, but believe that my resurrection is a glorious truth. (MW 1: 71-72)

In this passage, Bunyan provides both an exegesis of Scripture and a fictional rendering of the meeting between Jesus and Thomas. By enabling the reader to visualize the wounds on Christ's body and to hear the words of Christ, Bunyan situates the theological truth of the resurrection in the physical world, making concrete Christ's scourging, death, and resurrection.

While not all exempla are affective, there can be found in some the combination of meditation and narration where religious feeling is deepened by the beholding of physical details. In "The Gallant's Burden," Thomas Adams, a seventeenth-century preacher once described by Robert Southey as "the prose Shakespeare of puritan theologians," concludes his sermon with an exemplum that is both a cross between a parable or morality play and a metaphor, illustrating the indignity Christ continues to suffer in His work of redemption:

> A certaine Gallant had three Friends: two of them flatter'd him in his loose humours; if in this, I may not rather call them Enemies: The third, louingly disswaded him from his follies: on the two flatterers, he spent his Patrimony; the third he casts off with contempt: his ryot and wealth gone, his Friends went too; for they were friends to the Riches, not to the Rich man: Debt was required, he arrested, and the Prison not to be auoided: in this calamity, he studies refuge; hence he bethinkes himselfe of his two Friends, of whom he desires reliefe: the first's answer is cold and short, Alas, I cannot spare it, you should have preuented this earst: The other speakes a little more comfort; I haue no Money to helpe you, yet I will beare you company to the Prison doore,

and there leaue you: The distressed man findes small satisfaction in all this; therefore as his last refuge, he calls to minde his third Friend, whom he had euer scorned, wronged; and after much wrastling betwixt shame and necessity, he sends to him, with no lesse earnestnesse, then humility, discouers his exigents, requires helpe: the Message scarce deliuered, he comes with speed, paies the Debt, sets him at liberty, nay, repaires the ruines of his estate. The Rioter is Man; two flattering Friends, are Riches and Pleasures; these the soule of man embraceth, spends her strength and time, most precious Riches, on them: The third Friend, that rebukes his sinnes, is Christ; this, because distastefull to bloud and flesh, without regard to his sauing health, is reiected: at last, all the time of Grace spent, the soule (so farre) in Gods debt, is arrested by one of Gods Serieants, Sicknesse, or Calamity, or an afflicted Conscience, then those Friends begin to slinke;

> Pleasure is gone sodainly, so soone as the Head begins to ake: Riches (perhaps) will offer to goe with him to the Prison doore, the gates of Death, the preparation to the Graue: the fainting Soule fore-seeing their falshood, weaknesse, aggrauation of his miseries; with an humbled Heart, remorcefull Conscience, Teares in his eies, Prayers and Cries in his tongue, sollicites his neglected Sauiour, to pittie his distresse, and haue mercy vpon him: these Messengers haue no sooner pierced the Heavens, but downe comes the spirit of Grace and Mercy, with Pardon and free Remission, payment of all Debts, and discharge of all Sorrowes. (30-31)

By placing this *exemplum* at the end of his message, Adams revives his listeners whose attention may be wandering after such a lengthy sermon, dramatizing the lesson of his text. He makes no attempt to establish it as historical fact, choosing instead to let its narrative vividness and dramatic intensity validate it as a legitimate conveyance of moral truth.

Like Adams, who tells simple stories of human experience to enliven his sermons, Bunyan combines his instinct for discovering good stories in the events of daily life with his penchant for moralizing, readily deriving moral lessons from earthly things. His volume of poetry, A Book for Boys and Girls, is filled with his insights as a pastor and a preacher on how Puritan theological truth can be gleaned from such emblems as clouds, trees, vines, rosebushes, birds, insects, spiders, fish, domesticated animals, man and his activities, and numerous homely objects. The one proviso, however, is that it is through the Bible that "these sermons in stones and all created things" are seen and understood (MW 6: xxviii). In Poem LXIII, a pair of spectacles which Bunyan insists are for sight and not for show are compared to God's ordinances "For they present us with his Heav'nly Things; / Which else we could not see for hinderances, / That from our dark and foolish Nature springs" (MW 6: 1763-1765).

In his sermons, Bunyan's eye for immediate detail and moral truth couched in earthly experience is constant. While his most common method for sermon illustration is to cite Scripture and make exegetical comment, he does use exempla, occasionally at first, but with greater frequency as he grows older and presumably more confident as a preacher. In the early instances of his use of exempla, his development of narrative is rather weak and unsure, but it gradually becomes more structured, fixing itself upon a dramatic moment of intense conflict, where vigorous dialogue and animated imagery predominate. A cohesiveness is especially noticeable in his sermon exempla published after Mr. Badman (1680). One of the first stories that Bunyan tells to illustrate a point is about Anne Blackly in A Vindication of Some Gospel Truths Opened (1657). The narrative is bare and the dialogue halting, but it makes the point that the Quakers condemned him and others for the preaching of the Gospel (MW 1: 185). In The Greatness of Soul (1682-1683), Bunyan describes the pathetic plight of a condemned man standing upon the scaffold, waiting for execution. It illustrates poignantly the idea that "the ungodly do seek good things too late" (MW 9: 218). In this example, there is little narrative development--the character is static and there is no climax or dénouement.

The disturbing description in Seasonable Counsel (1684) of the massacres of the saints in Ireland, Paris, and Piedmont possesses more narrative development, but there is still lacking a close attention to detail that may be found in the exempla of Mr. Badman. The description of the action is breathless, while the horror of the massacres is relentless and terrifying:

> we should commit the keeping of our Souls to God, because the final conclusion that merciless men do sometimes make with the servants of God, is all on a sudden. They give no

> warning before they strike. We shall not need to call you to mind about the Massacres that were in Ireland, Paris, Piedmont, and other places: where the godly in the night, before they were well awake, had, some of them, their heart blood running on the ground. The savage Monsters crying out, kill, kill, from one end of the street, or a place, to the other. This was sudden, and he that had not committed his Soul to God to keep it, was surely very hard put to it now; but he that had done so, was ready for such sudden work. (MW 10: 25)[2]

Bunyan's lesson in this example is unforgettable and the saint who would have sat before him during that sermon would have realized fully the need to keep in right relationship with God.

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[2] Milton's Sonnet XVIII, "On the Late Massacre in Piemont," on the same theme, contrasts Bunyan's call for patient endurance. Taking on the stance of an Old Testament prophet, Milton is impatient for the vengeance of God to punish the wicked for the horror that they have inflicted upon the faithful.

Bunyan's narrative in the story of the innkeeper whose sign was the crown is not fully developed either (MW 10: 39). The emphasis is not upon the story itself, but in the setting up for the pun that the inn-keeper's son is heir to the crown. The humour of the joke is truncated by the sudden death of the innkeeper for "jesting with great things" (MW 10: 39). In contrast, a story that Bunyan borrows from Foxe's Acts and Monuments is fully developed, possessing the directness of a medieval exemplum:

> But I will give you an instance of later times even in the beginning of Queen Elizabeth's Reign of an Hartfordshire man that went as far as Rome to bear his testimony for God against the wickedness of that place. This man, when he was arrived there, and had told them wherefore he was come, they took and condemned him to death, to wit to be burned for an Heretick. Now he was to ride from the prison to the place of execution upon an Ass with his face to the beasts tail, and was to be stript from the shoulders to the waste, that he might be tormented all the way he went, with burning torches continually thrust to his sides. But he nothing at all

> afraid, spake in his exhortation to the people to fly from their sin and Idolatry; he would also catch hold of the Torches and put them to his sides, to shew how little he esteemed the worst that they could do. Also when he was come to the place of execution, he suffered there such cruelty, with so unconcern'd a mind, and with such burning zeal for Gods truth testified against them while he could speak: That, all amazed, his enemies cried, he could not have suffered as he did, but by the help of the Devil. His name I have now forgot, but you will find it with the story at large in the Third Volume of Acts and Monuments at the 1022. page. (MW 10: 55)

The account in Foxe is much more diffused than that in Bunyan, including Richard Atkins' arrival in Rome, the warm reception he received when he first arrived, the stern rebuke he gave to the students at the English College, the appearance he made before the Inquisition, the attempt he made while walking down a street to knock the Host out of the hands of a priest carrying it, and those actions of his in St. Peter's which brought about his eventual execution:

> few dayes after he came to St. Peters Church, where divers Gentlemen and other were hearing Masse, and the Priest at the elevation; he [that is, Atkins] using no reverence, stepped among the people to the altar, and threw down the Chalice with the wine, striving likewise to have pulled the cake out of the Priests hands; for which divers rose up and beate him with their fists, and one drew his rapier, & would have slaine him. (Foxe 1022)

The main focus in Bunyan's account is the actual execution, while in Foxe it is Atkins' rebuke of the Catholic Church and the devotions of its adherents. Of course, Bunyan is counselling his reader to face persecution with bravery. He is not necessarily writing an anti-Catholic tract. In the introduction to the Oxford Bunyan edition of Seasonable Counsel, Owen C. Watkins describes the harassment faced by the nonconformists in the late 1670's and early 1680's:

> Arrests were made on the flimsiest evidence; prisoners were intimidated in court or might remain in gaol indefinitely without being brought to trial; juries were bullied into bringing in verdicts of guilty; rules of

> procedure were broken, and to appeal might invoke further penalties; repeated fines could lead to destitution, and distraints were ferocious in their severity: beds, cradles, and household utensils were carried off, craftsmen and smallholders had their tools confiscated and sold for a small fraction of their value. Informers, given official status by the Conventicle Act of 1670, could make a good living on their share of fines and forfeitures, and became hated for their greed and perjury (the Act itself has been referred to as "the quintessence of arbitrary malice"). (_MW_ 10: xv)

By excising judiciously those extraneous details in the Foxe account which weaken the presentation of the central incident and its lesson to face persecution bravely, Bunyan strengthens the impact of his _exemplum_.

Bunyan recounts a story in _Good News for the Vilest of Men_ (1688) he once heard from a soldier who probably fought in the Civil War. In this story Bunyan illustrates how mercy and grace are important to the conversion process:

> I heard once a story from a Souldier, who with his Company had laid Siege

> against a Fort, that so long as the
> Besieged were perswaded their Foes would
> show them no favour, they Fought like
> Madmen; but when they saw one of their
> Fellows taken, and received to favour,
> they all came tumbling down from their
> Fortress, and delivered themselves into
> their Enemies hands. (_MW_ 11: 34)

In this _exemplum_, the structure is skeletal. There is the beginning, "I heard once a story from a Souldier," a climax, when one of their fellows is captured and shown favour, and a dénouement, when the besieged soldiers surrender. The moral is self-evident, perfectly illustrating the core of Bunyan's message:

> I am perswaded, did men believe that
> there is that Grace and Willingness in
> the Heart of Christ to save Sinners, as
> the Word imports there is, they would
> come tumbling into his Arms: But Satan
> has blinded their Minds, that they
> cannot see this thing. Howbeit the Lord
> Jesus has, as I said, that others might
> take Heart and come to him, given out a
> commandment that Mercy should in the
> first place be offered to the biggest

> Sinners. Begin, saith he, at Jerusalem. (MW 11: 34)

In this sermon, Bunyan gives a personal testimony proclaiming how Christ was merciful to him:

> Why, there are some people that are in chief the Devils Sin-breeders in the Towns and Places where they live. The Place, Town, or Family where they live, must needs be horrible lowsie, and as it were, eaten up with Vermin: Now let the Lord Jesus in the first place cleanse these great breeders, and there will be given a nip to those swarms of Sins that use to be committed in such places throughout the Town, House, or Family where such sin-breeding Persons used to be.
>
> I speak by Experience; I was one of these lowzy ones, one of these great sin-breeders; I infected all the Youth of the Town where I was born, with all manner of youthful Vanities. The neighbours counted me so, my practise proved me so: where Christ Jesus took me first; and taking me first, the Contagion was much allayed all the Town

> over. When God made me sigh, they would harken, and enquiringly say, *What's the matter with* John? They also gave their various opinions of me: But as I said, Sin cooled, and failed, as to his full *carrier*.[3] When I went out to seek the Bread of Life, some of them would follow, and the rest be put into a muse at home. Yea, almost the Town, *at first*, at times, would go out to hear at the place where I found good: Yea, young and old for a while had some reformation on them; also some of them perceiving that God had mercy upon me, came crying to him for mercy too. (*MW* 11: 35-36)

Bunyan reminisces, telling the very personal story of the towns-people's reaction to his conversion. The introduction is forceful, "I speak by Experience," Bunyan knowing full well the importance his audience would have placed upon one's personal experience of salvation. The climax occurs with the tender account "When God made me sigh." From that turning point, the issue is no longer Bunyan's own religious conversion, but that of the townspeople. The dénouement,

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[3] "carrier: career, i.e. charge or encounter" (*MW*, xi, p. 218).

"some of them perceiving that God had mercy upon me, came crying to him for mercy too," returns the audience to the message of the sermon that there is mercy for even the vilest of men.

In *Mr. Badman*, Bunyan utilizes numerous *exempla* to illustrate the general proposition he sets forth in his prefatory "The Author to the Reader":

> For that wickedness like a flood is like to drown our English world: it begins already to be above the tops of mountains; it has almost swallowed up all; our Youth, our Middle age, Old age, and all, are almost carried away of this flood. O Debauchery, Debauchery, what hast thou done in England! Thou hast corrupted our Young men, and hast made our Old men beasts; thou hast deflowered our Virgins, and hast made Matrons Bawds. Thou hast made our earth to reel to and fro like a drunkard; 'tis in danger to be removed like a Cottage, yea, it is, because transgression is so heavy upon it, like to fall and rise no more, Isa. 24.20. (7)

Bunyan's method for illustrating the general proposition of the badness of the times is fully explained in the introduction to the recent Oxford edition where the editors assert:

> From the outset it is made clear that "they are bad men that make bad times" in Wiseman's bemoaning "the badness of the times" (p. 13), and the narrative that follows is intended to furnish a particular illustration of his general proposition. When at the start, therefore, Wiseman attributes a paradigmatic quality to Badman by associating him with the universal corruption of mankind, Attentive insists on getting down to brass tacks: "yet these are but Generals," he complains: "pray therefore tell me in Particular which were the sins of his Childhood" (18). From then on and at every step along the primrose path the delineation of each evil is normally preceded by some statement concerning its overall heinousness, so that the instances that ensue, the anecdotes told, and the judgements pronounced, appear as the quod erat demonstrandum that clarifies, upholds, and reinforces the truth of the

> initial proposition. In this way, and further, by means of the additional weight of the numerous biblical allusions throughout, Badman's life is depicted as exemplary, or rather cautionary, as a model not to be emulated if indeed we wish to escape hell. (Badman xxviii)

There are over thirty exempla in Mr. Badman. Some of these, as has been mentioned before, are exemplum terrible, or judgment stories, and will be dealt with closely in the fourth chapter of this dissertation. Those exempla which will be analyzed now are illustrative stories that do not refer to God's punishment of sinners, but instead, make clear divine lessons in holiness. Bunyan's method has been touched upon already; he makes an initial proposition, and then particularizes the abstraction with a narrative illustration so that the audience may "see" its divine truth applied in concrete situations.

The stories Bunyan draws upon for his exempla in Mr. Badman are taken from the Bible, drawn from personal observation, or involve the fictional episodes in Mr. Badman's life. The first sort are very brief, cameo sketches of a dramatic incident. Sometimes Bunyan will foreshorten events in the biblical account considerably, and at other times he will cite the passage verbatim. In the section describing the kind of cursing that Badman was accustomed to, Wiseman refers to Shimei's curse of David.[4] In his curse Shimei declares that Absalom's rebellion is fitting retribution for David's part in the slaughter of Saul's house. Even though David had not been responsible for what had happened, he accepted Shimei's curse as an admonition from the Lord. On his deathbed, however, David's opinion of Shimei's curse was far different, having determined that Shimei was not guiltless. In this reference which is briefly expanded into an exemplum, a guilty man grievously curses another guilty man, illustrating how the profane curse others:

> And we may thus apply it to the profane ones of our times, who in their rage and

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[4] And when king David came to Bahurim, behold, thence came out a man of the family of the house of Saul, whose name was Shimei, the son of Gera: he came forth, and cursed still as he came. And he cast stones at David, and at all the servants of king David: and all the people and all the mighty men were on his right hand and on his left. And thus said Shimei when he cursed, Come out, come out, thou bloody man, and thou man of Belial: The Lord hath returned upon thee all the blood of the house of Saul, in whose stead thou hast reigned; and the Lord hath delivered the kingdom into the hand of Absalom thy son: and, behold, thou art taken in thy mischief, because thou art a bloody man. (2 Sam. 16: 5-8).

> envy, have little else in their mouths but a sentence against their Neighbour for, and to evil unjustly. How common is it with many, when they are but a little offended with one, to cry, Hang him, Damn him, Rogue! This is both a sentencing of him for, and to evil, and is in it self a grievous Curse. (Badman 30)

The cursing which the young Badman was accustomed to was wishing that evil might befall himself or others. Another example of a reference taken directly from Scripture is Wiseman's description of the whore of Proverbs. Wiseman places his vivid description of her ways at the beginning of his section on the sin of uncleanness:

> I looked (says the Wise man) through my casement, and beheld among the simple ones, I discerned a young man void of understanding, passing through the streets near her corner, and he went the way to her house: In the twilight, in the evening, in the black and dark night. And behold, there met him a Woman with the attire of an harlot, and subtle of heart; (*she [in the margin: "*Signs of a whore"] is loud and

> stubborn, her feet abide not in her house. Now she is without, now she is in the street, and lieth in wait at every corner.) So she caught him, and kiss'd him, and with an impudent face said unto him: I have peace-offerings with me; this day have I payed my vows. Therefore came I forth to meet thee, diligently to seek thy face, and I have found thee. I have decked my bed with coverings of Tapestry, with carved works, with Fine linnen of Ægypt: I have perfumed my bed with Myrrhe, Aloes, and Cinnamon; come, let us take our fill of love untill the Morning: let us solace our selves with loves. Here was a bold Beast: And indeed, the very eyes, hands, words, and ways of such, are all snares and bands to youthful, lustful fellows: And with these was young Badman greatly snared. (Badman 49-50)

Even though Wiseman's account is essentially the same as the one in Proverbs, his use of the passage is striking, for not only does he show how sinful thoughts enter the mind, he shows how they may be vanquished. For Bunyan and Wiseman, evil thoughts only become sin when they linger in the mind.

Using Scripture as his precedent, and thereby avoiding the outrage of the pious, Wiseman dallies over a harlot's seduction of a young man, recreating for the reader an example of delectatio morosa. The dramatic incident, sexual language, and evocative imagery reproduce the action of temptation which first enters the mind, but does not become sin until it is acted upon. Wiseman's vehement language at the end, however, dissipates the dream-like narrative; sin is once again defeated, and the reader is shown a way to escape the harlot's net.

As examples of how Bunyan employs his extensive knowledge of the Old and New Testaments to illustrate points of morality, the references to Shimei and the harlot possess those features characteristic of exempla: dramatic incident, arresting dialogue, vivid imagery, and straightforward moral application. These features are also found in those stories which Bunyan takes from his personal observations as a mechanick tinker, Bedford pastor, and prisoner of the Lord. Highlighted by the manual sign, indicating that Bunyan had either seen the event himself or had heard about it from eyewitnesses, Wiseman tells the story of a gentleman who decides to teach his drunkard of a groom a lesson. Wiseman signals his exemplum with the stock introductory phrase "I will tell you another Story" (Badman 45). He then sets the scene--the gentleman sees his groom "coming home one night very much abused with Beer." The central event occurs when the gentleman decides to teach his servant a lesson in the morning, "that thou art worse than a Beast, by the behaviour of my Horse." Within this _exemplum_ a lesson is played both for the groom, but also for the audience listening in--a veritable lesson within a lesson. The gentleman illustrates Attentive's point that drunkards are worse than animals by commanding the groom to water the horse until it would drink no more, and by saying to the groom:

> Thou drunken sot, thou art far worse than my Horse, he will drink but to satisfie nature, but thou wilt drink to the abuse of nature; he will drink but to refresh himself, but thou to thy hurt and dammage; He will drink, that he may be more serviceable to his Master, but thou, till thou art uncapable of serving either God or Man. O thou Beast, how much art thou worse than the horse that thou ridest on. (_Badman_ 45)

By addressing the groom directly, the gentleman focuses the reader's attention upon the practical application of Attentive's proposition that drunkenness

> _is so beastly a sin, a sin so much against Nature, that I wonder that any that have but the appearance of Men, can give up themselves to so beastly (yea,_

> worse than beastly) a thing. (Badman 45)

After an extended discussion demonstrating the dangers of employing corrupt servants, Wiseman demonstrates the necessity for masters to employ honest servants with the exemplum of the woman who came to Bunyan while he was in prison, confessing anguish over stealing money from her master's box (48). Wiseman begins the narrative with the familiar phrase, "Now while it is in my mind, I will tell you a story." While the visual image at the outset is striking--"When I was in prison, there came a woman to me that was under a great deal of trouble,"--the emphasis in the narrative itself is not upon the physical details of the surroundings of the prison or the apparel of the speakers, but upon the dramatic dialogue that takes place between the two. The repartee is close and tight, demonstrating Bunyan's ability to recreate realistic dialogue between a pastor and a parishioner who comes for counselling. Wiseman carefully draws out from the woman the reason for her distress; she responds to him, but refuses in the end to hazard execution by revealing the identity of her master. Wiseman ends the exemplum with a recapitulation of the moral:

> I tell you this story for this cause; to confirm your fears, that such kind of servants too many there be; and that God

> makes them sometimes like old Tod, of
> whom mention was made before, (through
> the terrours that he layes upon them) to
> betray themselves. (Badman 48)

The truly frightening thing about this exemplum in Bunyan's eyes is that, while the woman is terrified beyond measure by the law of man, she has no regard for the far more grave and eternal judgment of God.

After describing some of the judgments that fall upon adulterers and fornicators, Wiseman descants on the horror of living with no sense of impending judgment for sin. He tells two very short stories, portraying the callous disregard of some for God's call to holiness. Wiseman begins these exempla with the introductory phrase, "I heard of one that should say to his Miss," and "I my self heard another say" (Badman 54). These exempla are short; they occupy only a couple lines each, yet they have a beginning with a stock introductory phrase, a middle where the situation is sketched quickly, and an end where the moral is brought to bear upon the life of Mr. Badman. In the first incident a man tempts a "Miss" to commit uncleanness with him with the Faustian bargain "If thou wilt venture thy Body, I will venture my Soul." Wiseman does not say if she accepts the deal with its terms as laid out. In the next story, a man attempts to entice a maid with the droll suggestion that she could escape punishment by saying to the judge, "That you are with Child by the Holy Ghost." For Bunyan, these lines are blasphemous, and Wiseman refuses to make light of the moral, these desperate words indicating just how sinful some men have become. Wiseman also indicates how little recourse the poor have against the sin of the rich when he writes, "I had a mind to have accused him for it before some Magistrate; but he was a great man, and I was poor, and young: so I let it alone, but it troubled me very much" (54-55).

In the exemplum illustrating the need for parents to do what they can to make their children honest, Wiseman relates the story of a good woman and her bad son (Badman 63). Wiseman begins the exemplum with the introduction, "I remember that I have heard of a good woman, that had . . . a bad and ungodly son," and concludes it with the moral:

> I tell you, that if Parents carry it lovingly towards their Children; mixing their Mercies with loving Rebukes, and their loving Rebukes with Fatherly and Motherly Compassions, they are more likely to save their Children, than by being churlish and severe toward them: but if they do not save them, if their mercy doth them no good, yet it will greatly ease them at the day of death, to consider; I have done by love as much

> as I could, to save and deliver my child
> from Hell. (Badman 63)

In the narrative Wiseman describes the talk the mother has with her son after she has been at prayer, exemplifying the need for parents to be firm, yet loving in the discipline of their children. The son is finally converted when his mother blurts out that she is so satisfied that she has done all she could to bring him to salvation that at the day of judgment, she "shall rejoyce to hear the sentence of thy damnation at that day." With the son's change of heart, the story ends happily, drawing an emotional sigh of relief from the saints whose worst fears are that their children will die unrepentant, like Mr. Badman.

In the exemplum describing how pride among Christians is a stumbling block to the world, Wiseman refers to a young maid who, when reproved for her fond and gaudy garments, replies "The Tailor would make it so" (123). This incident takes place in the middle of a long discourse on pride (118-126). Prior to this story there have been general references to the proud apparel and carriages of professors who are "deckt and bedaubed with their Fangles and Toyes" (Badman 122), but Wiseman eventually strikes close to home when he describes the flippant response the young girl makes to the serious reproof levelled at her. Wiseman begins by saying, "I once talked with a Maid," and concludes with the summation: "Many make Parents, and Husbands, and Taylors,

&c. the Blind to others, but their naughty hearts, and their giving of way thereto, that is the original cause of all these evils" (123).

Immediately after Wiseman's account of Mrs. Badman's death, Attentive tells the story of a dying Christian, illustrating the moral that Wiseman explicates at its conclusion, that "God goes out of his Ordinary Road with us poor Mortals sometimes" (144). Attentive begins his story conventionally, "I will tell you a story of one that died some time since in our Town." The picture Attentive draws is beautifully illustrated and emotionally drawn:

> The man was a godly old Puritan, for so the godly were called in time past. This man after a long, and godly life, fell sick, of the sickness whereof he died. And as he lay drawing on, the woman that looked to him thought she heard Musick, and that the sweetest that ever she heard in her life, which also continued until he gave up the Ghost: now when his soul departed from him, the Musick seemed to withdraw and to go further and further off from the house, and so it went untill the sound was quite gone out of hearing. (Badman 144)

This story elicits the same emotional response as the concluding passages of The Pilgrim's Progress evoke when the pilgrims begin their final passage over the river to the gates of the Celestial City.

Recovering suitable stories from the personal experience of those around him to illustrate the moral lessons in Mr. Badman, Bunyan dignifies human life, helping individuals to make sense theologically of their existence. By using events taken directly from Badman's life, Bunyan shows how haphazard and nonsensical life without God can be. Badman is a negative example, and he illustrates more than any one the consequences of rebellion against the Law of God. Every event in his life that Wiseman draws attention to in his dialogue with Attentive is a moralized anecdote, encouraging the saint to shun sin, beware of judgment, and pursue vigorously the holy life.

The overall structure of Mr. Badman is that of a dialogue linking an episodic narrative infused with verisimilitude. The events of Badman's existence are taken from daily life and are presented with dignity. Bunyan recreates his world, milieu, and fellow human beings in Mr. Badman by focusing upon minutiae and seemingly insignificant details. In this depth of realism, Bunyan's narrative attains a life of its own, creating in its turn a superstructure which supports, displays, and offsets the moral truth which enlivens Bunyan's creative verve. By placing particular phenomena in meaningful, significant patterns, narrative gives order to chaos. A story deciphers experience by placing it in a larger context, and the preacher because of his training and faith sees the subtle workings of God in every event, even the most contradictory and paradoxical. As a result, faith and devotion are enriched, whether or not the story is truth or fiction. Bunyan uses the exemplum in Mr. Badman to enable his reader to live the holy life and bear fully the fruit of Christian righteousness. In the process, Bunyan shapes a fiction that allows his reader to experience vicariously the tribulation of the saints and the scourging of the wicked. Bunyan demonstrates how fiction, invigorated by mimetic attention to detail and close observation of human life, prepares the reader to comprehend more readily profound spiritual truth. For Bunyan, fiction coupled with realism, verisimilitude, and narrative recreates the substance of that faith which was hitherto unseen.

CHAPTER FOUR

"THOU SHALT WITH ME TO HELLE YET TONYGHT": MR. BADMAN AND THE JUDGMENT BOOK

Bunyan utilizes the narrative simplicity of the exempla to embody moral lessons in The Life and Death of Mr. Badman. Not only does he teach and exhort his reader in the way of Christian holiness, he endeavors to fill his reader with a rich and abiding fear of God, instilling within each a sense of wonder at divine justice.[1] To do this, Bunyan employs the medieval exemplum terrible, or the judgment story, which illustrates divine retribution for sin. There are four broad categories in which most judgment stories can be placed, the most spectacular being either the demonic "carried off by devils," or the supernatural judgment "direct from God." Less electrifying but more pervasive are those where people "get what they deserve." In these types of judgment stories, people are judged "by their own words," or they bring the judgment upon themselves "by their own hands," suffering the consequences of their actions.

For medieval preachers, judgment stories were not a special and separate type of story; they were just more exempla. Because of the numerous exemplaria in the seventeenth century that specialized in judgment stories, however, a distinction will be made in this dissertation between those exempla which exhort, encourage, and reward, and those which show judgment. The "Friar's Tale" in Chaucer's Canterbury Tales has a wicked Summoner who is "given" to the Devil, damned by his own words. Within this anecdote illustrating the effect of cursing, there is narrative action, economical dialogue, and dramatic confrontation, all features of a good story. As Larry D. Benson explains,

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[1] The fear of God for Bunyan is a positive virtue and a necessary concomitant to the holy life.

> The tale is admirably suited to the Friar, a preacher who deals in words, the efficacy of which he proves by making the summoner's words the instrument of his own damnation, first by those he does speak, the troth he pledges to the devil, and then by those he does not, his refusal to repent. In the General Prologue even the usually tolerant narrator was shocked by the Summoner's belief that cursing has no effect; the Friar's exemplum shows how wrong he was. (Chaucer 11-12)

Since Mabely in the tale means her curse and the Summoner refuses to repent, he is doomed:

> "Now, brother," quod the devel, "be nat wrooth;

> Thy body and this panne been myne by
> right.
> Thou shalt with me to helle yet tonyght,
> Where thou shalt knowen of oure privetee
> Moore than a maister of dyvynytee."
> (Chaucer III (D) 1634-1638)

Another type is the "judgment at their own hands" as exemplified by Chaucer's "The Pardoner's Tale" where three drunkards seek "Death" and find it as a judgment for their drunkenness, swearing, and cursing. William Herebert, a fourteenth-century Lector in Theology at the Franciscan Convent in Oxford, utilizes a "judgment direct from God" in a story where a Master at the University of Paris is suddenly struck dumb. Stephen Reimer claims that

> This rather curious reference is probably to an exemplum which Herebert would have told at greater length in the pulpit. It is probably a reference to the tale of Simon of Tournai as told by Matthew Paris, Chronica majora, ed. Henry Richards Luard, "Roll Series" no. 57 (London, 1872-1884), 2: 467-477. Simon, a Master at Paris, after having been applauded for a particularly eloquent and convincing defence of the doctrine of the Trinity, announced that

> he could speak equally convincingly against the same doctrine. He was immediately struck dumb and, except for the Pater noster and Creed, said nothing more until his death. (Reimer, in Herebert 79n26)

In this supernatural judgment, God seems to reach right down from Heaven to intervene directly, singling out an individual for a particular judgment. In other judgments of this type may also be found large-scale disasters such as the fire of London or the plague.

Judgment books were vast collections of _exempla terrible_ that were written for clerics and laity alike, cataloguing the numerous punishments God metes out to sinners for their wickedness. Such writers as Thomas Beard, Samuel Clarke, John Reynolds, and Nehemiah Wallington, just to name a few, collected _exempla_ illustrating the wrath and judgment of God. His avenging nature is underscored in these collections, and saints and sinners alike are urged to plead for mercy, turn from their wicked way, and walk in the path of righteousness. Many judgment stories are sensational in their lurid detailing of the punishments dispensed to adulterers, cursers and swearers, dancers, drunkards, Sabbath breakers, and so on. By reserving the worst of all judgments for the worst of all sinners, Mr. Badman, Bunyan explodes the popularly held seventeenth-century notion that the nature of one's death revealed something about the eternal judgment one was about to receive. Badman's death is as quiet as a lamb, but resounds with the anguish of eternal abandonment. No other judgment quite as effectively demonstrates the plight of a soul separated from God for eternity.

Punishment for sin is the overarching motif of _exemplum terrible_, while God's mercy for repentant sinners and man's ultimate responsibility for his sentence are its message. The duty to bring home this point to all people prompted the saints to record their experiences and observations of God's provident acts. His dealings with human beings are recognizable, and making a record of them nurtures faith, edifies fellow believers, and provides a tentative assurance of salvation for those doubting their election. Comfortable with looking to the affairs of everyday life for signs and wonders of the divine, Puritans verified their faith in the empirical fact of current event, not distant history. Keith Thomas in _Religion and the Decline of Magic_ makes the point that

> The Puritans had undoubtedly been the readiest to spot God at work in daily occurrences; indeed much of the earliest news-reporting took the form of Puritan-inspired pamphlets relating accidents and disasters of moral importance. (96)

Many of the subjects of the press, as listed by M.A. Shaaber in Some Forerunners of the Newspaper in England, are also found in judgment books:

> the doings of the court; murders and other crimes; miracles, prodigies, and wonders; monstrous births and strange beasts; witchcraft; the plague; acts of God, such as flood and fire, and the weather; and sporting events. Almost all the news published on these subjects is by way of being sensational: its appeal is not to public spirit, or enlightened self-interest, or intelligent curiosity, or anything else but the sense of wonder. (138)

The sense of wonder is heightened in these providential reports by augmenting descriptions of the strange, marvellous, and fantastic with assertions of the sovereignty of God and the absolute certainty of judgment.

Affirming both the mercy of God and the awful terror of judgment, seventeenth-century judgment-book writers amassed stories that popularized the doctrine of providence where the acts of God in the lives of individuals and nations were made manifest. The assurance that God is indeed in control seems tenuous at the best of times, challenging judgment-book writers to explain convincingly why God only sometimes rewards virtue while more often than not, or so it seems, ignores vice. Collectors of judgment stories sought an historical and theological perspective on the affairs of human life that attempted to make sense of the random brutality and injustice saints and sinners experience alike. Addressing directly the issue of why the godly suffer manifold tribulation and the wicked prosper, most judgment-book writers argue that since all men are sinners who wilfully transgress the known law of God, it is a sign of God's mercy that only some are struck down in the midst of their sin with no time, opportunity, or ability to repent.

Because agonizing human suffering is for the most part morally ambivalent, the doctrine of providence, as Thomas points out, possesses a self-confirming quality. Any event can be interpreted in such a way as will reveal the intervention of God in the affairs of man. If the godly experience difficulties, they are being tested and tried, while if the wicked are beset by troubles, they are being punished. Conversely, if the godly prosper, they are experiencing God's mercy, but if the wicked prosper, as does Mr. Badman, they have been abandoned to their sin. Thomas suggests that the observer's point of view determines whether or not the event is seen as a deliverance. That God does not act at all may be seen as a mercy with the sinner having one more chance, or a judgment for the one like Mr. Badman who is beyond all hope. In A Few Sighs From Hell

(1658), Bunyan describes the situation of the man blinded to his sin:

> 'Tis true, the law hath laid all men for dead, as they come into the world; but all men do not see themselves dead, untill they see that law that struck them dead, sticking in their souls, and having struck them that fatall blow. As a man that is fast asleep in an house, and that on fire about his ears, and he not knowing of it, because he is asleep in sin, though the wrath of God, the curse of his law, and the flames of hell have beset them round about, yet they do not believe it because they are asleep in sin. Now he that is awakened and sees this, sees, that through this he is a dead man. Even so they that do see their state by nature, being such a sad condition, do also see themselves by that law to be dead men naturally. (MW 1: 354)

To become blinded to one's fate, to be oblivious of imminent judgment is to experience the height of God's wrath, for He has given the sinner over completely to the rule of his lusts. The saints, in contrast, realizing fully their unworthiness to be called the children of God, are to be of good courage and to endure bravely the trial and testing of their faith. They are to wait patiently for the victory that will ultimately be theirs.

In a world where suffering is the norm, judgment stories paradoxically bring comfort to the broken and condemnation to the reprobate. Validating revelation, the doctrine of providence inculcates that God will not be mocked and that sinful man must obey His Law. Man's ongoing rebellion, however, necessitates that the doctrine of providence be repeated and demonstrated rhetorically with _exemplum terrible_ in the judgment books. Samuel Clarke's _Mirrour and Looking-glass for Saints and Sinners_, published initially as a small quarto volume in 1646, which grew to two folio volumes by the fourth edition in 1671, is perhaps the most popular of all seventeenth-century judgment books. In each successive edition, Clarke gradually assimilates the _exempla_ collected by Thomas Beard and Henry Burton, providing the saints with all that they need to know about geography, history and exegesis (Tindall 198). Seven of the twenty judgment stories found in _Mr. Badman_ are taken directly from Clarke, with Bunyan citing his source and providing the page numbers.

Thomas Beard's _Theatre of God's Judgments_, first published in 1597, is one of the primary sources from which Clarke finds his material. Beard's judgment book is made up of scenes taken from biblical and European history, demonstrating punishment for crimes and highlighting the certainty that divine vengeance will follow sin. Beard, schoolmaster to Oliver Cromwell at Huntingdon, classifies the judgments of God under the headings of various sins, following the conduct book practice of making the contents of such works easily accessible to clergy and laity in search of specific cases. In his most famous judgment story, Beard describes Christopher Marlowe's cursing God in a tavern while dying from a stab wound:

> Not inferior to any of the former in Atheisme and impiety, and equall to all in manner of punishment, was one of our owne nation, of fresh and late memory, called Marlin [in the margin, "Marlow"], by profession a scholler, brought up from his youth in the University of Cambridge, but by practise a Play-maker, and a Poet of scurrility, who by giving too large a swing to his owne wit, and suffering his lust to have the full reines, fell (not without just desert) to that great outrage and extremity, that he denied God, and his sonne Christ, and not onely in word blasphemed the Trinity, but also (as it is credibly

reported) wrote books against it, affirming our Saviour to be but a deceiver, and Moses to be but a seducer of the people, and the holy Bible to be but vaine and idle stories, and all Religion but a device of policy. But see what a hooke the Lord put in the nostrils of this barking dogge: so it fell out, that as he purposed to stab one whom he ought a grudge unto, with his dagger, the other party perceiving, so avoyded the stroke, that withall catching hold of his wrest, he stabbed his owne dagger into his own head; in such sort, that notwithstanding all the means of surgery that could be wrought, he shortly after died thereof: the manner of his death being so terrible (for he even cursed and blasphemed to his last gaspe, and together with his breath an oath flew out of his mouth) that it was not only a manifest signe of Gods judgement, but also an horrible and fearefull terrour to all that beheld him. But herein did the justice of God most notably appeare, in that he

> compelled his own hand which had written those blasphemies, to be the instrument to pnnish [sic] him, and that in his braine, which had devised the same. (92-93)

In this well-known judgment against atheism and blasphemy, in which the punishment fits the sin perfectly, lies the potential for a rivetting exemplum terrible; Beard, however, does not perceive the promise in the narrative for a good story. Although his account of Marlowe's death possesses narrative action, it is not vivid, nor is it convincing. The setting is not described and there is little characterization. The dramatic confrontation that could have been developed between the two combatants is so subsumed into Beard's moralizing that it is virtually nonexistent. Bunyan's situating his stories in time and place, as will be seen later in this study, is more vivid than Beard's, for Bunyan loads his narrative with minutiae and particulars, paying close attention to physical detail, characterization, and plot development.

John Reynolds' The Triumph of Gods Revenge against the Crying and Execrable Sinne of Wilful and Premeditated Murder (1621) attempts to satisfy the public's demand for fiction with most of the stories conforming "generally to a short story pattern with a fight, a love letter, and an execution in each" (Hussey 165). The tales in Reynolds's collection consist of lust and violence where the innocent suffer because none in this world is completely free from sin, and the guilty sometimes appear to escape punishment, illustrating the dreadful fate of those whom God allows to continue without reproof or correction in their blindness. It is also suitably illustrated with executions and burnings at the stake. Reynolds makes good use of the public's predilection for murder stories and accounts of God's vengeance, drawing upon criminal histories placed in exotic settings, as he works to make his audience realize the imminence of God's judgments.

Nehemiah Wallington, another collector of judgment stories, wrote two treatises on God's judgments--A Memorial of Gods Judgements upon Sabbath Breakers, Drunkards and Other Vile Livers (1632) and Examples of Gods Wrath (1645). In one of his books, Wallington refers to Francis Spira, drawing the special interest of those in Bunyan studies. Seavers explains that Wallington's notebook "No. 9, on 'Francis Spira,' written in 1635, is a copy of a manuscript that was evidently circulated among the godly in 1635, and that was subsequently printed in 1638 as A Relation of the Fearfull Estate of Francis Spira, in the year 1548" (202). Spira, who converted to Protestantism after reading Luther, later denied his new faith when he was betrayed to the papal legate.[2] In Grace Abounding (1666), Bunyan records his response to the story of Francis Spira:

> About this time I did light on that dreadful Story of that miserable Mortal Francis Spira; A Book that was to my troubled Spirit as Salt, when rubbed into a fresh wound; every sentence in that book, every groan of that man, with all the rest of his actions in his dolors, as his tears, his prayers, his gnashing of teeth, his wringing of hands, his twining and twisting, languishing, and pining away under that mighty Hand of God that was upon him, was as knives and daggers in my Soul; especially, that sentence of his was frightful to me, Man knows the beginning of sin, but who bounds the issues thereof? Then would the former

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[2] This fact would have been especially forceful to Bunyan since reading Luther had a tremendous impact upon him. In Grace Abounding, Bunyan writes: "I do prefer this book of Mr. Luther upon the Galatians, (excepting the Holy Bible) before all the books that ever I have seen, as most fit for a wounded Conscience" (41).

> sentence, as the conclusion of all, fall like an hot thunder-bolt again upon my Conscience; for you know how that afterwards, when he would have inherited the blessing, he was rejected; for he found no place for repentance, though he sought it carefully with tears. (49)

Like Wallington, Bunyan sees in the story of Francis Spira the direct judgment of God, but unlike Bunyan, who is staggered by Spira's fate, Wallington sees much in the narrative that is edifying to the saints.

From even a cursory glance at the works of Clarke, Beard, Reynolds, and Wallington, one can see that Bunyan was influenced by the judgment-book tradition. Of the numerous stories in Mr. Badman, one major grouping of them is drawn directly from Samuel Clarke, while another is highlighted in the margin by the hand with the pointing index finger, signalling that the source is from Bunyan himself. Of the judgments found in Clarke, three are also found in Beard, and at least one is in Wallington. The sources for some of the judgments have not been identified at all--"the stories of N.P., the swearer, of Edward of the blind alehouse, of the barber who cut his own throat, and about John Cox who perished disagreeably amid his own viscera" (Tindall 199). Just thirty years ago, Roger Sharrock identified the source for the story of the young gallant who murdered his illegitimate child.[3]

In comparison to the handling of judgment stories by others, as will be amply demonstrated later in this chapter, Bunyan's is artistically superior, authenticating his tales with a lingering over detail and a careful mimetic development of character and setting. He is sensitive to timing, possesses a repertoire of ways for creating suspense, and gives rise to the climactic moment, his stories manifesting a finished, completed quality that other judgments do not. In Mr. Badman, there are two stories that Bunyan takes from Clarke that cannot be found in Beard, Reynolds, or Wallington. They begin with Mr. Attentive's wish that Badman's companions "may hear of them," and are distinguished by the citation in the margin of the chapter and page number in The Mirrour, and Looking-glass for Saints and Sinners. Such citation of sources is usual in judgment books, but Bunyan's precision is not at all characteristic. There are a couple of possible reasons for this scrupulous documentation. Most obviously, Bunyan enhances the authority of his own work by quoting the immensely popular Samuel Clarke, investing Clarke's stature with the same force as first-hand testimony. As well, perhaps Bunyan was so sensitive to the charges of plagiarism levelled against him with the publication of The Pilgrim's Progress that he did not want to give his enemies any grounds whatsoever for accusing him of dishonest dealing. Bunyan's citation of sources in the margins imbues his narrative with Clarke's authoritative stature, thereby justifying Mr. Badman to the same audience that so stoutly resisted The Pilgrim's Progress. It also works within the narrative to confer upon Wiseman the eminence of a godly preacher who reads works of piety as a matter of course.

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[3] See "An Anecdote in Bunyan's 'Mr. Badman,'" Times Literary Supplement (1958) 428.

There is little in the stories which Bunyan takes from Clarke of the adulterers struck dead with fire from heaven and the suicide, despairing because of his act of uncleanness, to suggest that Bunyan's handling has improved them in any way over the originals. Here are the parallel judgments.

[In the Mirrour, Clarke says,]

> Anno Christi, 1683. In London two Citizens were committing adultery together upon the Lords day, who were immediately struck dead with fire from heaven in the very act of uncleannesse: their bodies were so found half burnt up, and sending out a most loathsome savour. Divine Tragedy.
>
> Master Cleaver reports of one whom he knew that had committed the act of uncleanness,

whereupon he fell into such horror of conscience, that he hanged himself, leaving it thus written in a paper: Indeed (saith he) I do acknowledg it to be utterly unlawful for a man to kill himself: But I am bound to act the Magistrates part, because the punishment of this sin is death. (12)

[Mr. Wiseman says,]

Mr. Cleaver (says Mr. Clarke) reports of one whom he knew, that had committed the act of Uncleanness, whereupon he fell into such horror of Conscience that he hanged himself; leaving it thus written in a paper. Indeed, (saith he) I acknowledge it to be utterly unlawful for a man to kill himself, but I am bound to act the Magistrates part, because the punishment of this sin is death.

Clarke doth also in the same page make mention of two more, who as they were committing Adultery in London, were immediately struck dead with fire from Heaven, in the very Act. Their bodyes were so

> found, half burnt up, and sending out a
> most loathsome savour. (56)

The story of the adultery is a type of the judgment "direct from God," while the story of the suicide is of the judgment "at one's own hands," indicating the awfulness of suicide as a judgment. The only noticeable difference in either Clarke's or Bunyan's account of the adultery is that Bunyan discards the superfluous detail that the act was committed on the Lord's Day.

The ignominy of sexual sin is not addressed fully in either of these stories. For Bunyan sexual sin is a shameful act, done in secret but judged in the open. In a possible reference to the syphilitic Sir William Davenant, Bunyan tells the story of a man who had his nose eaten off and his mouth nearly sewn up. It is a true vignette, marked with the pointing-index finger in the margin, sparely drawing the irreversible consequences and degradation of uncleanness. The homily that follows associates the foul effects of the disease with an equally foul sin. The tale of the "young gallant" who employs a midwife "to lay a young lady" (52-53) is a story of a young man and woman who must wait until the Day of Judgment to be sentenced for their sexual sin and consequent murdering of their child. This story reveals Bunyan's characteristic ability to blend narrative action, dialogue, and dramatic confrontation, illustrating the inevitability of God's judgment. Wiseman establishes the credentials of the person from whom he first heard the story as "a man of good credit in our Countrey" and a minister whose mother was a midwife, "mostly imployed in laying great persons" (52). This well-constructed short story has three parts. In the first, Wiseman explains the manner in which the "brave young gallant" brings the woman to the young lady's chamber--by taking the midwife on horseback in the middle of the night, turning her round and round to confuse her, and arriving at a stately house. The second part of the story has to do with the actual delivery and birth of the child; when the midwife demands help, he draws his sword, saying, "if she did not make speed to do her Office without, she must look for nothing but death" (52). Immediately after the birth of the fine sweet babe, the intensity of the horror is delineated simply, graphically, and without ornamentation. Wiseman says

> Now there was made in a Room hard by, a very great Fire: so the Gentleman took up the Babe, went and drew the coals from the stock, cast the Child in, and covered it up, and there was an end of that. (52-53)

Wiseman makes "the Bastard-getter and Bastard bearer" responsible for consenting together to murder their child; nevertheless, the inhumanity of such an act is placed in high relief with the pathos of the new mother and her child.

The story is told completely from the male perspective, leaving the mother's position and the unfortunate child's plight without voice, revealing much about the vulnerability and victimization of women and children in seventeenth-century England. The young woman's passivity in the face of such evil contrasts with the active endurance and preservation of Mrs. Badman in the abysmal marriage to her husband.

The third part of this story tidies up the loose ends of the narrative. When the midwife had done her work, she is paid well, shut up in a dark room all day, and carried home the next night. While there is no apparent retribution for the murder that the young man committed and the terrible abuse which he inflicted upon the young woman, Wiseman's remarks about uncleanness echo the verse in St. Luke:

> Therefore whatsoever ye have spoken in
> darkness shall be heard in the light;
> and that which ye have spoken in the ear
> in closets shall be proclaimed upon the
> housetops. (12: 3).

The idea that secret sin will eventually be brought to light and punished is also dealt with in a story that Attentive tells of the doctor of physick and his whore who were hanged for murdering the three children they had between them. This story is also highlighted with the manual sign, as is the following one about the woman who confessed while on her deathbed that she was a whore and all her children bastards. Wiseman says

> I was once in the presence of a Woman, a married woman, that lay sick of the sickness whereof she died; and being smitten in her conscience for the sin of Uncleanness, which she had often committed with other men, I heard her (as she lay upon her Bed) cry out thus: _I am a Whore, and all my Children are Bastards: And I must go to Hell for my sin; and look, there stands the Devil at my beds feet to receive my Soul when I die_. (53)

The moderate rhythm of the narrative is jarred by the emotional outburst of her confession, its drama bearing the full weight of the knowledge of God's judgment upon her, in contrast to Badman's death. The narrative is spare and the lesson remorseless; those who commit the sin of uncleanness are abhorred of God, and because they are abhorred of God, they "fall into the commission of it; and shall live there" (54).

While illustrating how Badman's "sin, his shame, and punishment are all made conspicuous to all that are about him" (134), Wiseman tells three stories that are also taken directly from Clarke. The first two are of the "carried off by devils" type while the third is of the "damned by one's own words." Here are the parallel accounts.

Clarke:

> A certain blasphemous wretch carousing in an Inn began to vent his Atheism, swearing that he did not believe that man had any soul which survived his body, and that Heaven and Hell were but meer fables, and inventions of Priests to get gain by, and that for his own part he would sell his soul to any that would buy it: Then did one of his companions buy it of him for a cup of wine, and presently the Devil in mans shape bought it of that man again on the same price, and so in the presence of them all, laid hold on this soul-seller, and carryed him away through the air, so that he was never more heard of. Disci. de Temp. (1: 41)
>
> Not long since, a soldier in Salisbury in the midst of his health, drinking and carousing in a Tavern, drank a health to the Devil, saying that if the Devil would not come and pledg him, he would not believe that there was either God or

> Devil: Whereupon his companions, strucken with horror, hastened out of the room, and presently after, hearing a hideous noise, and smelling a stinking savour, the Vintner ran up into the Chamber, and coming in, he missed his guest, and found the window broken, the Iron-Bar in it bowed, and all bloody, but the man was never heard of afterwards. (1: 148)
>
> A Bayliffe of Hedly, upon a Lords Day, being drunken at Melford, got upon his horse to ride through the streets, saying, that his horse would carry him to the Devil, and presently his horse cast him, and brake his neck. (1: 148-9)

Bunyan:

> I have read in Mr. Clarke's Looking-glass for Sinners; That upon a time, a certain drunken fellow boasted in his Cups, that there was neither Heaven nor Hell; also he said, He believed, that man had no Soul, and that for his own part, he would sell his soul to any that would buy it. Then did one of his companions buy it of him for a cup of

Wine; and presently the Devil in mans shape bought it of that man again at the same price; and so in the presence of them all laid hold on this Soul-seller, and carried him through the Air, so that he was never more heard of.

In pag. 148. he tells us so: That there was one at Salisbury, in the midst of his health drinking and carousing in a Tavern; and he drank a health to the Devil, saying, That if the Devil would not come and pledge him, he would not believe that there was either God or Devil.

Whereupon his companions stricken with fear, hastened out of the room: and presently after, hearing a hideous noise, and smelling a stinking savour, the Vintner ran up into the chamber; and coming in, he missed his Guest, and found the window broken, the Iron barr in it bowed, and all bloody: But the man was never heard of afterwards.

Again, in pag. 149. he tells us of a Bailiff of Hedly: Who upon a Lords Day being drunk at Melford, got upon his horse, to ride through the streets, saying, That his

> horse would carry him to the Devil: and presently his horse threw him, and broke his neck. These things are worse than the breaking of Mr. Badmans Leg, and should be a caution to all of his friends that are living, lest they also fall by their sin into these sad Judgements of God. (134-135)

While the account of the bailiff of Hedly is essentially the same in Beard, Clarke, and Bunyan, the other two have been revised in such a way as to dramatize more effectively the moral lesson at hand. In the first instance, Bunyan reduces Clarke's expansive, "A Certain blasphemous wretch carousing in an inn" to the more forceful "a certain drunken fellow boasted in his cups," underscoring that the foolhardy boast is the cause of the immediate judgment which follows. Both accounts are limited in their descriptions, neither describing the setting very well at all. There is some narrative action, but there is no dialogue, and the moral application is severe. The man is damned, not because of his scandalous talk, but because he is prepared to sell his soul to anybody who would have it.

In the second account, Bunyan characteristically excises those superfluous details which do not heighten the dramatic confrontation. Bunyan says that there is one at Salisbury in the midst of drinking a health to the devil.

Clarke includes the fact that the man in question is a soldier. Seavers supplies some of the details, taken from Wallington, revealing just how much Clarke and Bunyan have removed from their accounts. Wallington's includes the name of the commander of the troop, Lord Goring, the date March 15, and the name of the pub, "The Catherine Wheel." Seavers writes of the account in Wallington:

> Perhaps the most frightening judgment was visited on a troop of Lord Goring's command in garrison at Salisbury in March 1645. Some of these soldiers were drinking healths at the Catherine Wheel, and "after they had drunk the king's health, the queen's, Rober's [Prince Rupert's], and some others, one of them began a health to the devil." Another refused on the grounds that "he did not know whether there were a devil, and if he could see the devil, he would pledge his health." Whereupon there was immediately a great stink in the room and the smell of brimstone withal, and immediately an ugly creature that frightened them all appeared amongst them and took the man and carried him out of the window, nothing of him

> remaining but some blood spilt about the window. (Seavers 65)

Bunyan judiciously avoids any reference to the Civil War, ignoring completely the fact that the men involved in this Faustian pact with the devil were royalists. Wallington's account, unlike Clarke's or Bunyan's, has the men stay in the same room, so that they all see the devil as an ugly creature smelling of brimstone. The creature then carries the man out of the room, "nothing of him remaining but some blood spilt about the window" (Seaver 65). The last two stories that Bunyan takes from Clarke, the one about the man living in the city of Savoy and the one about wicked woman at Oster in the duchy of Magalapole, both gruesome "carried off by devils" judgments, are almost verbatim (146-147), illustrating Bunyan's willingness to leave a good story alone. They are both tightly wrought, extremely sensational, and rigorously applied to their moral lesson. Bunyan could not have made them any better, and he knows this.

Attentive tells the hair-raising tale of Ned and his father, culminating in a bizarre demonic possession and foiled exorcism. Attentive asserts that he "was an ear and eye witness of what I here say; and so I was" (35). Not only does Attentive hear Ned in his roguery, but sees Ned's father when he is possessed. The events of the story occur about a bow shot from where Attentive dwells. Edward is a half fool both in his words and in the manner of his behaviour. The men who frequent the blind-ale house are described as jovial companions, guests, boon blades, and brave fellows. Attentive then carefully describes the process by which Ned's father provokes his son to begin cursing his father and mother, and anyone else who crosses him. Halfway through the narrative, a turn takes place where the story which began as a variation of a judgment by one's own words is transformed into a demonic judgment where the victim is possessed and horribly tortured:

> *Well, so it came to pass, through the righteous Judgement of God, that Neds Wishes and Curses were in a little time fulfilled upon his Father; for not many months passed between them after this manner, but the Devil did indeed take him, possess him, and also in few days carried him out of this world by death; I say, Satan did take him and possess him: I mean, so it was judged by those that knew him, and had to do with him in that his lamentable condition*. (35)

Attentive maintains that he has seen Ned's father while possessed, his flesh gathering into "an heap, about the bigness of half an Egge; to the unutterable torture and affliction of the old man" (37). The foiled exorcism is also dealt with in great length, Attentive lingering on the details, for the greater the sensationalism, the greater the judgment of God upon the sinner, and the greater the impact this literary exercise has on its reader.

Wiseman tells two stories where the physical collapse of the protagonists reflects their spiritual condition. The implication is that both men receive their just deserts, one for informing the authorities about conventicles and the other for writing a book against Christ. The story Wiseman tells of the informer WS who was stricken by the hand of God, another judgment marked by a manual sign, is characterized by the methodical and progressive description of the judgment WS receives. In the first stage of the judgment, WS falters in his speech, for weeks at a time speaking only as if he were drunk. In the second stage, he drools at the mouth, the "slabber sometimes would hang at his mouth well nigh half way down to the ground" (81). At the third stage of his progressive deterioration, WS cannot hold his head up and look ahead, unless he "clapped his hand hard upon his forehead, and held up his head that way, by strength of hand." In the fourth stage, he can speak no more than a swine or a bear, and in the final stage, God simply allows him to continue his business in this posture, "a sufficient spectacle of his Judgment for his sin" (82).

In the second story where the protagonist's spiritual condition is reflected physically, Wiseman tells the story of an atheist who writes a book against Jesus Christ (136), insisting that he heard of it from the very people who caught the man in their arms after he jumped out of his chamber window. God's judgment is dramatically represented by the simile of the conscience as a lion tearing a kid, describing how forcefully the man's conscience had afflicted him for what he had written:

> There was a man dwelt about 12 miles off from us, that had so trained up himself in his atheistical Notions, that at last he attempted to write a book against Jesus Christ, and against the divine Authority of the Scriptures. (But I think it was not printed:) Well, after many days God struck him with sickness, whereof he dyed. So, being sick, and musing upon his former doings, the Book that he had written came into his mind, and with it such a sense of his evil in writing of it, that it tore his Conscience as a Lyon would tare a Kid. He lay therefore upon his death-bed in sad case, and much affliction of conscience: some of my friends also went to see him; and as they were in his chamber one day, he hastily called for

> Pen Ink and Paper, which when it was given him, he took it and writ to this purpose. I, such an one, in such a Town, must goe to Hell-fire, for writing a Book against Jesus Christ, and against the Holy Scriptures: And would also have leaped out of the window of his house to have killed himself, but was by them prevented of that: so he dyed in his bed, such a death as it was. 'Twill be well if others take warning by him. (136)

The simile embedded within this tightly knit narrative is vivid, full of drama and biblical connotation, and contrasts the millennial vision of the lion and the lamb lying together in peaceful harmony.

Bunyan's recognition of a well-told story and his uncompromising vision of the wickedness in the human heart and the sinful corruption of the natural world permeates his treatment of judgment stories. While he refers to and develops anecdotes of demonic possession and various supernatural occurrences, his most gripping narratives involve the sensationalism of ordinary crises. Wiseman tells the story of a man in Bedford who is awakened to his condition, but inclines to his lusts anyway, and is given up as a result to the company of three or four ungodly men who were all hanged like dogs in less than three years because they refused to live like honest men. In this judgment, the punishment of God is not illustrated in supernatural disasters or demonic possessions, but in the liberty they are given "that they may sin without controul" (44). The enormousness of the judgment is shown in the extent of its explanation:

> Their Judgement is therefore so much the greater, because thereto is added blindness of Mind, and hardness of Heart in a wicked way. They are turned up to the way of Death, but must not see to what place they are going: They must go as the Ox to the slaughter, and as the Fool to the Correction of the Stocks, till a Dart strikes through their Liver, not knowing that it is for their life. This, I say, makes their Judgement double, they are given up of God, for a while to sport themselves with that which will assuredly make them mourn at last, when their flesh and their body is consumed. These are those that Peter speaks of, that shall utterly perish in their own corruptions; these, I say, who count it pleasure to ryot in the day-

> time, and that sport themselves with their own deceiving, are, as natural bruit beasts, made to be taken and destroyed. (44).

The significance of this judgment to Mr. Badman is that it foreshadows Badman's fate. He too will be blinded to his judgment, dying in peace as a lamb, with his conscience untroubled and unconcerned. The accused is utterly abandoned by God, damned by his words, actions, and desires.

In another story where an "ordinary" crisis turns disastrous, Wiseman is meticulous in his descriptions and careful rendering of the story of the informer from St. Neots. The informer living four miles from St. Neots is employed by a gentleman, and is so effective in his informing that there is nothing else to be done, except for the constable "to make distress on the people" (82). Wiseman recreates the scene in which a dog bites the leg of an informer whose wound then becomes gangrenous:

> Now while he was in the heat of his work, as he stood one day by the Fire-side, he had (it should seem) a mind to a Sop in the Pan, (for the Spit was then at the fire,) so he went to make him one; but behold, a Dog (some say his own Dog) took distaste at something, and bit his Master by the Leg; the which bite,

> notwithstanding all the means that was used to cure him, turned (as was said) to a Gangrene; however, that wound was his death, and that a dreadful one too: for my Relator said, that he lay in such a condition by this bite, (as the beginning) till his flesh rotted from off him before he went out of the world. (82)

The care in which Wiseman itemizes the judgment the informer experiences is revealed in its attention to detail, illuminating for the reader the outrage of God for such sin.

An extreme example of the dangerous consequences that may occur when ordinary crises are allowed to get completely out of hand occurs in the extended story of John Cox. In this judgment, Bunyan avails himself of those features of a good story to provide the reader with the most harrowing judgment of all in Mr. Badman. Referring to Badman's brother who used a knife to cut his own throat, Wiseman explains that suicide

> is a sore Judgment of God upon men, when God shall, for the sins of such, give them up to be their own Executioners, or rather to execute his Judgment and Anger upon themselves. (158)

Bunyan situates his story in time and place, describing the narrative action. Wiseman says that Cox

> was a poor man, and had for some time been sick (and the time of his sickness was about the beginning of Hay-time;) and taking too many thoughts how he should live afterwards, if he lost his present season of work; he fell into deep despair about the world, and cryed out to his wife the morning before he had killed himself, saying _We are undone_. (159)

The suspense of this story, like that in much of _Mr. Badman_, is in the manner of Cox's death. It is gruesome, bloody, and horrific in its detail, pushing the audience's predilection for horror to its limit. The tension is also heightened by Cox's refusal to repent, his guts spilling out of his side, his throat cut, and his blood running out of his belly as out of a bowl. The horror of the narrative is so sensational that God's eternal judgment must have seemed tangible to Bunyan's audience. It is as it were an ultimate meditation on judgment for the sinner not only brings himself to the point of complete despair, but is also the instrument of his own destruction, with eternal damnation waiting in the wings. The judgment against Cox is the worst in _Mr. Badman_, for he has brought his despair upon himself, once again showing that the pious Bunyan, who eloquently understated the judgment against Mr. Badman, can also master the grisly and the macabre.

Although many of the judgment stories in Mr. Badman are borrowed from Thomas Beard and Samuel Clarke, several are taken directly from Bunyan's own experience. In this insistence by Bunyan on the validity of first-hand experience, we see once again the universal and eternal tension between experience and authority. The first incident of a judgment, the actuality of which is indicated by a manual sign, happens with the story of Dorothy Mately. In this judgment by one's own words and the apparently direct intervention of God, the supernatural event of the ground suddenly opening up and swallowing her occurs. Bunyan includes such details as the fact that she was an inhabitant of Ashover in the county of Darby, and bolsters this with the testimony of George Hodgkinson, also of Ashover and "a man of good report there" (33). The authority of this story is further heightened when it is noted that the tale is also found in Samuel Clarke's The Mirrour or Looking-glass for Saints and Sinners. Here are the parallel passages.

Clarke:

> In April, 1661, a woman in Derbyshire having cozened a boy of some money, was charged with it: but she stifly denied

it, and being further urged to confess the truth, she (in a fearful manner) prayed God that the earth might open and swallow her up quick, if she had it: and immediately the Earth under her opened and she sank into it. And being afterwards digged for, they found her 9 feet within the earth and that very money was found in her pocket. This was attested by credible witnesses. (2: 510)

Bunyan:

But above all take that dreadful Story of Dorothy Mately an Inhabitant of Ashover in the County of Darby. This Dorothy Mately, saith the Relator, was noted by the people of the Town to be a great Swearer, and Curser, and Lier, and Thief; (just like Mr. Badman.) And the labour that she did usually follow, was to wash the Rubbish that came forth of the Lead Mines, and there to get sparks of Lead-Ore, and her usual way of asserting of things, was with these kind of Imprecations: I would I might sink into the earth if it be not so, or I *would God would make the earth open and swallow me up*. Now upon the 23. of *March*, 1660, this *Dorothy* was washing of Ore upon the top of a steep Hill, about a quarter of a mile from *Ashover*, and was there taxed by a Lad for taking of two single Pence out of his Pocket, (for he had laid his Breeches by, and was at work in his Drawers;) but she violently denyed it, wishing, *That the ground might swallow her up if she had them*: She also used the same wicked words on several other occasions that day.

Now one *George Hodgkinson* of *Ashover* . . . came accidently by where this *Dorothy* was, and stood still a while to talk with her, as she was washing her Ore; there stood also a little Child by her *Tub-side*, and another a distance from her, calling aloud to her to come away; wherefore the said *George* took the Girle by the hand to lead her away to her that called her: But behold, they had not gone above ten yards from *Dorothy*, but they heard her crying out for help; so looking back, he saw the *Woman*, and her

> Tub and Sive, twirling round, and sinking into the ground. Then said the man, Pray to God to pardon thy sin, for thou art never like to be seen alive any longer. So she and her Tub twirled round and round, till they sunk about three yards into the Earth, and then for a while staid. Then she called for help again, thinking, as she said, that she should stay there. Now the man though greatly amazed, did begin to think which way to help her, but immediately a great stone which appeared in the Earth fell upon her head, and brake her Skull, and then the Earth fell in upon her and covered her. She was afterwards digged up, and found about four yards within ground, with the Boys two single Pence in her pocket, but her Tub and Sive could not be found. (33)

While the story is reduced to a bald summary in Clarke, in Bunyan the narrative of the judgment "is transformed by the addition of a few deft realistic touches" (Forrest and Sharrock, Introduction, in Bunyan, Badman xxiii). Bunyan carefully situates the story, naming the specific village and county in which it took place. He then establishes

Mately's character, saying that she was a known swearer, curser, liar, and thief. Bunyan lingers over the details of her occupation, washing the rubbish that came from the lead mines, explaining the purpose of her work to get sparks of lead ore. He provides examples of the kinds of imprecations that come from her mouth, emphasizing the accuracy of her sordid reputation. He places the narrative in time, saying that the events took place on 23 March 1660, and provides the specific location, a quarter mile outside Ashover, on the top of a steep hill. He adds the detail that the lad who accused Mately of stealing his money was working in his drawers, giving her the opportunity to go through the pockets of his trousers, and providing the reader enough realistic detail to suspend disbelief just before the astonishing event of the earth's opening up.

Bunyan then includes the account of George Hodgkinson which appears nowhere in Clarke, providing the additional feature of the young girl standing near Dorothy Mately's tub, engaging the reader's attention once again in this unusually long judgment story. Bunyan's account contains a description of the tub and sieve twirling around and sinking three yards into the ground before stopping, an addition also not to be found in Clarke. The narrative action is retarded for a moment "as the man greatly amazed did begin to think which way to help her," but quickens when the great stone (almost of its own volition) appears in the earth, falls upon her head and breaks her skull. Bunyan's concluding comments provide the dénouement, taking into account that the boy's two pence were in fact found in her pocket. While Clarke undoubtedly provides Bunyan with the essential plot of this tightly constructed literary exercise, Bunyan transforms it into a narrative of the judgment of God.

While all judgment stories deal with punishment and most often end with the death of the protagonist, not all conclude unhappily. Attentive's story about the accused man who realizes when he has the hangman's rope about his neck the wickedness of his life is starkly drawn and descriptive. Just before he is "ready to be turned off by the hangman" (Badman 22), he confesses his sin, illustrating that sometimes near-death repentances are sincere, expanding upon the moral Attentive suggests when he asks the question of Mr. Badman:

> But can you imagin what it was, I mean, in his conceit (for I speak not now of the suggestions of Satan, by which doubtless he was put on to do these things,) I say what it should be in his conceit, that should make him think that this his manner of pilfering and stealing was no great matter. (22)

The image of the accused standing "upon the Ladder with the Rope about his Neck" engages the audience's ability to visualize graphically the scene. With the audience focused fully on the accused who is about to be executed for the sin of stealing, Attentive has him give the reason he went on this pilfering course, inlaying the moral within the dialogue. The accused man confesses "that which had brought him to that end, was his accustoming of himself, when young, to pilfer and steal small things" (22). The accused on the ladder is juxtaposed with his youthful trifling; the consequences of his life of thievery result in his execution. This judgment closes with the advice "to take heed of beginning, though but with little sins, because by tampering at first with little ones, way is made for the commission of bigger" (22).

The same moral is illustrated with the story Wiseman tells of Old Tod who began his way to the gallows by robbing orchards. Wiseman begins his narrative with a conventional opening: "Since you are entered upon Storyes, I also will tell you one" (Badman 23). Bunyan enables the reader to visualize the scene set before him, Old Tod bursting into the court where the summer assizes are being held. He is clothed in a green suit, his leather girdle is in his hand, "his Bosom open, and all on a dung sweat, as if he had run for his Life" (23). With this vision of a man running for his life only to be sentenced by the judge to hanging, Wiseman applies the moral first expressed by Attentive to the larger narrative of Mr. Badman's life:

> It is not only remarkable, but pat to our purpose. This Thief, like Mr. Badman, began his Trade betimes; he began too where Mr. Badman began, even at robbing of Orchards, and other such things, which brought him, as you may perceive, from sin to sin, till at last it brought him to the publick shame of sin, which is the Gallows. (23)

Wiseman brings this exemplum terrible to its conclusion by attesting to its veracity. He establishes the credibility of the person who told him the story, stressing that this individual was standing less than two yards from where Old Tod gave his testimony. In this judgment, Old Tod would rather hazard the summer assizes than the prospect of eternal damnation for unrepented sin. Even though the state carries out the execution, the implication is that Old Tod and his wife because of their confession receive grace and mercy from the hand of God.

Bunyan's use of the judgment-book tradition in Mr. Badman situates him squarely in the literary practice of other well known and popularly-read writers of the period. For the most part, his handling of judgment stories is exemplary. They are intended as realistic narratives, but include as well those features of all fiction--narrative action, economical dialogue, and dramatic confrontation. Bunyan's creative verve is shown to advantage in the range of stories he develops, from Badman's death as quiet as a lamb to the suicide of John Cox, the one horrific because of its understatement and the other because of its attention to detail. The comprehensive vision Bunyan has of the evil in man's heart and the corruption in the world, coupled with his deft characterization and plot development, transforms brief anecdotes and rambling accounts into clearly focused, well-organized judgment stories that warn sinners of the Day of Judgment and encourage saints to await the vindication that will soon be theirs.

CHAPTER FIVE

"THE PRIMROSE WAY":
MR. BADMAN AND THE PICARESQUE

Utilizing narrative action, economical dialogue, and dramatic confrontation in his cautionary tale of a sinner bound for Hell, Bunyan adopts many features of the popular picaresque tradition. Although there are no direct references to, or quotations from, any of the translations of those Spanish forbears of the English picaresque, La vida de Lazarillo de Tormes (1554) by an unknown author, Mateo Alemán's Guzmán de Alfarache (1599-1604), and Quevedo's La vida de Buscón (1626), one can perhaps assume, given the immense popularity of the genre, that Bunyan would have heard others speak about it. Paul Salzman explains how well received the picaresque was in seventeenth-century England by describing some of the publishing history of Lazarillo and Guzmán:

> Mabbe's Lazarillo was translated into English in 1576 by David Rowland. . . . After a second printing in 1596, this translation went through eight editions in the course of the following century, while the English translation of Guzmán went through seven--an indication of how eagerly the Spanish picaresque novel was read and assimilated. (Salzman 207)

Probably, the young Bunyan could not have afforded a copy of James Mabbe's four-volume *The Rogue* (1626), an English translation of Mateo Alemán's *Guzmán*, but his familiarity with the picaresque is undeniable, suggesting once again that he was very much a man of his times and not a pietistic recluse.

As will be seen from a brief look at Bunyan's *The Life and Death of Mr. Badman* and Mabbe's *Rogue*, Bunyan easily adapts the picaresque to his tale of Mr. Badman. The parallels between the two works are obvious, the differences entirely appropriate to Bunyan's didactic intent, and his variations of the picaresque especially forceful. In *Literature and the Delinquent*, Alexander Parker outlines some of the similarities between Bunyan's work and Alemán's. Both have a dualistic structure with a narrative outlining the life of the protagonist from birth until death. Interspersed throughout each narrative are didactic comments on the extent of the protagonist's wickedness and exclamations of astonishment at his insolence. Both works condemn secular literature and emphasize the quotidian nature of original sin. As well, the protagonists marry twice, once for money and once as a judgment from God. Both are merchants who go bankrupt and both feign a change in behaviour: Guzmán assumes a veneer of sanctity, while Badman only pretends to repent (Parker 101).

Though similar in many respects, the differences between Guzmán and Mr. Badman serve only to underscore Bunyan's desire to encourage the saints and warn sinners of impending judgment. Bunyan's characterization of his protagonist varies significantly from Alemán's of his picaro who

> says more than he should; he reveals an inner being more tormented by the past than comforted in the present. Guzmán recognizes the correct course of action and strays from it. He similarly determines a discursive course and deviates from it, as feeling overcomes reason. Through word and deed, he intimates that it is hard to be good in a world that repeatedly treats him badly. Guzmán's self-image--and the central motif of his narrative--is that of victim. Fortune, circumstance, and grandiose designs subject the protagonist to constant humiliation, punctuated by a series of scatological scenes that recur to remind him of his fate. (Friedman 34)

Badman also says more than he means or should, his language revealing exactly who and what he is. Wiseman's account of

Badman's swearing, cursing, blasphemy, lying, and verbal abuse of all who cross him follows the New Testament principle that words are an indicator of what is in the heart. By Badman's words and actions, God's judgment upon him as a reprobate is well justified. Unlike Guzmán, Badman is neither tormented by the past nor comforted by the present. He suffers some discomfort at times, but is not taken aback for long. When he comes near death, he relaxes temporarily his wicked resolve to do evil in the sight of God and man, treating his wife well. Comforted by his change of heart and change in behaviour, Mrs. Badman is devastated when he returns to his wicked ways, his will to sin renewed as his strength returns. Badman's logic, of course, is as twisted as Satan's in Paradise Lost, so that when he returns to his senses, and reason once again overcomes his feeling, he does not waver from his course of sin. For Badman, unlike Guzmán, being good is never an issue, and he glories in his role as a predator taking advantage of any one unfortunate enough to have dealings with him.

Bunyan's didactic objective, though differing in technique, is essentially the same as Alemán's. As Ben Jonson attests in his poem introducing Mabbe's The Rogue:

> this Spanish Proteus; who, though writ
> But in one tongue, was formed with the world's wit:
> And hath the noblest marke of a Good Booke,

That an ill man dares not securely looke,
Upon it, but will loathe or let it passe,
As a deformèd face doth a true glasse. (Mabbe 1: 31)

Bunyan establishes a pattern for Mr. Badman's experience as a man who knows the truth, wilfully rejects it, deliberately sins, experiencing fully the wrath of God in judgment. Moving very quickly from a state of relative childhood innocence to moral culpability, the young Badman chooses to sin in spite of all he knows to be true, holding before the reader a mirror of his own behaviour.

The knowledge that Badman gains from his rebellion against God is that of the flesh and the devil, so that the more he learns, the less he is ultimately able to see and know. Badman does not realize how lucky he is under his first master, and suffers under the domination of his second. He does not understand that his companions want his company only for his money, and so he becomes a Jack-pay-for-all who is exploited with abandon. In his marriages, Badman is as blind to the blessing of his first wife as he is deaf to the cursing of his second. By his choices, Badman sears his conscience and blinds himself to the truth, at his death suffering the ultimate consequence of his decisions: eternal damnation. Wiseman's narrative demonstrates how Badman refuses to acknowledge the reality of his sin and the truth of God. His journey begins in the relative security of a godly home where his parents watch carefully over him, and ends with the tolling of the church bells, summoning him to hell.

Bunyan's use of the picaresque in _Mr. Badman_ has been disputed ever since Frank W. Chandler called Mr. Badman a romance of roguery. While attesting that Ernest Baker "indignantly dismissed" Chandler's classification of _Mr. Badman_ as a picaresque novel, Parker insists that since Baker's day "nobody, as far as I know, has placed _Mr Badman_ into the context of the picaresque tradition" (101). Published in the same year as Baker's _History of the English Novel_, however, James Blanton Wharey's article "Bunyan's Mr. Badman and the Picaresque Novel" demonstrates that there are parallels between _Mr. Badman_ and the picaresque. Alexander Blackburn dismisses Parker's defence of Chandler, emphasizing that _Mr. Badman_ "presents neither a trickster nor a novelistic kind of society. Mr. Badman is a generic portrait of a sinner, a vile body depicted from on high" (99). Salzman, in contrast to Blackburn, returns with some qualification to the views held by both Chandler and Wharey. By suggesting that Badman as a character is related to the picaresque (249), Salzman sums up the most recent attitude adopted by critics of _Mr. Badman_ and the picaresque. There are many features in _Mr. Badman_ that are not conventionally picaresque; however, Bunyan interlaces _Mr. Badman_ with many picaresque qualities, warning those who might be tempted to tread "the primrose way to th' everlasting bonfire" (Macbeth II. iii. 19-21).

Characterized by one of the most apparent features of the picaresque, the narrative of Mr. Badman's life is episodic, following the course in which his dissembling becomes so pervasive that he even deceives himself. The seemingly unstructured, episodic plot of the narrative follows the course of Badman's wrong doings, culminating in his spiritual blindness and eventual damnation. Mr. Wiseman elaborates a few incidents from each of the major periods of Badman's life. These incidents appear unrelated, but the sins that they typify expand from a childish toying with trifles (i.e., the raiding of gardens) to commercial deception and the abuse of his wife. While a youngster, he breaks God's moral law by first lying to his parents and then graduating to thievery. His civil crimes at first are inconsequential, but, as he grows older, they become more serious:

> this Mr. Badman, as he was a lier from a Child, so he was also much given to pilfer and steal, so that what he could, as we say, handsomly lay his hands on, that was counted his own, whether they were the things of his fellow Children; or if he could lay hold of any thing at a Neighbours house, he would take it

> away; you must understand me of Trifles; for being yet but a Child he attempted no great matter, especially at first. But yet as he grew up in strength and ripeness of wit, so he attempted to pilfer and steal things still of more value than at first. (Badman 20-21)

Badman's behaviour, though reprehensible, is not surprising. He is the paradigm of the unredeemed, and a reprobate. Wiseman tells Attentive that Badman was "notoriously infected with Original corruption" (Badman 17). The extent of his wickedness is not seen in the variety of sins which he is guilty of committing, but in the nature of his state before God; that Badman is damned one can see from the "cloud of witnesses" throughout his life--the desires of his heart, his words, and his actions--and, as a consequence, he is fully deserving of judgment.

Like the characterization of most picaros, there is little development of the motives behind Badman's behaviour. He is as morally static as his Calvinistic reprobation is sure. The only development that occurs in Badman's person is that he becomes more rooted in his sin, and increasingly isolated in his blindness. The world that he lives in is fallen; but there is a sense in Bunyan's book that Badman's sin makes his experience on earth worse than it need be. So, while he suffers for his sin, Badman is never characterized as the victim of a hostile and cruel environment. He is victimized by the consequence of his own choices, while Creation groans under the weight of his wrong doing, and his neighbours suffer unduly from his deception and exploitation.

For those whom Bunyan would refer to as "free-willers," those who believe that man must somehow participate in his own salvation, the Calvinist doctrine of reprobation is a very difficult doctrine to accept, and it is not the place of this dissertation to defend or deny it. Nevertheless, a few comments need to be made. As a strict Calvinist, Bunyan minimizes man's role in the soteriological process, emphasizing, instead, God's sovereignty and man's utter need for grace. Badman is damned in that he is simply passed by, whereas the elect are saved, not because of their virtue, for all men are sinners, but because, in the divine scheme of things, their salvation has been pre-ordained even before the beginning of time. However, there is a theological puzzle in the Christian's progress as outlined in the contractual obligations of covenant theology as expressed by Bunyan, who paradoxically

> assumes that the sinner, in spite of his depraved state, is able to "flye in all haste to Jesus Christ. . . ."
> Curiously, man can do nothing to save himself, but apparently he cannot be

> saved unless he makes the trek from the City of Destruction to the wicket gate as the preparation for his salvation. The grace of God is like a flowing river, and the would-be saint must do his utmost to place himself in the river's path. (MW 2: xxxii)

Mr. Badman does nothing of the sort, and, unlike the picaro who is rebuffed for his social pretensions, is welcomed warmly by society as one of its own. Badman, as both a stereotype of a sinner and a unique individual made in the image of God, traverses the countryside of sin.

He travels from innocence to delinquency, and from godlessness to hypocrisy and deception, all the time growing more gargantuan and monstrous, magnifying his lineage as one of the devil's brats. While many picaresque works are types of travel narrative, describing in a wealth of detail exotic places and foreign customs, Mr. Wiseman describes the world of sin in a rather ordinary and familiar setting. Most picaros travel from one place to the next to escape either punishment or poverty. Badman does neither, but remains stationary and rooted in transgression. He does not wander about to escape the despair of grinding poverty. He travels, one might argue, through the landscape of sin, running to avoid moral censure and rebelling against all that is decent and upright.

Picaro-like, Badman lives for the moment and for the immediate gratification of his lust. Once he has wasted his wife's inheritance, he is forced to use other means to raise money. The influence of the picaresque is evident because of the realism of Badman's sin in the long section on mercantile ethics. In _A Being More Intense_, Paula Backscheider draws a parallel between Bunyan's handling fraudulent business practices and Defoe's: "Bunyan's _Life and Death Mr. Badman_ offers nearly as complete a guide to methods of deceit and business ethics as Defoe's works, but Bunyan locates the fault in the depravity of man and the nature of a fallen world" (63). Badman is as corrupt as many seventeenth-century merchants and tradesmen, and all Bunyan has to do is to look around contemporary Bedford for models after whom he could fashion his character.

In the rapacious world of mercantile economics, Badman is an enduring reprobate whose picaresque resiliency is unparalleled. Like the picaro who is able "to endure the vicissitudes of fortune with equanimity and good humour" (Hartveit 15), Badman remains steadfast to his nature, refusing to acknowledge his sin. He is so proud that he laughs to scorn anyone who dares to confront him with his faults. Wiseman says,

> _He was a very proud man_, a _Very_ proud man. He was exceeding proud and haughty in mind; He looked, that what he said,

> ought not, must not be contradicted or opposed. He counted himself as wise as the wisest in the Countrey, as good as the best, and as beautiful as he that had most of it. (Badman 118)

Badman's pride and secure self-confidence is illusory. It keeps him from salvation because it blinds him to his need for Christ. He disregards the Scriptures, saying they "were as a Nose of Wax, and a man may turn them whithersoever he lists" (Badman 127-128). When Badman marries again, he faces a judgment paralleling the one he experienced when as an apprentice he changed a good master for a wicked one. As his wicked master was his equal in sin, so Badman's second wife is the same sort as he, giving him "word for word, blow for blow, curse for curse; so that now Mr. Badman had met with his match" (Badman 147).

Badman's second marriage is a poignant reversal of the marriage between the prophet Hosea and the prostitute Gomer in the Old Testament. Rather than illustrating the judgment and anger of God, this marriage between the prophet and the prostitute pictures God's indefatigable love for an unfaithful people. The picture here is of a people undeserving of God's love, but with Him lavishing it upon them:

> Then said the Lord unto me, Go yet, love a woman beloved of her friend, yet an

> adulteress, according to the love of the
> Lord toward the children of Israel, who
> look to other gods, and love flagons of
> wine. (Hosea 3: 1)

Badman's marriage to a whore is a just reward for his life of sin, illustrating the judgment God sometimes metes out to those who ignore His dictates.

Badman's unwillingness to admit that he is a sinner in need of Christ's mercy aligns him with the picaro in Quevedo's _Buscón_ who sinks lower and lower as the book proceeds, ending "in a state of unrepentant and degraded persistence in the picaresque life" (_Knaves_ xiii). Badman is unconcerned about the extent of his wickedness and the distance separating him from God, going through life blithely and dying full of confidence, secure in his disregard. He does not struggle with his conscience, but is happily enslaved to all manner of sin. He yearns for freedom as a picaro does, but instead of seeking it in the discipline and rigor of a godly life, he pursues it in that license which only imprisons, never liberates. Bunyan's _Mr. Badman_ as an investigation of evil is like a picaresque biography, spanning Badman's early childhood, his adulthood, and his death, illustrating the futility of a life independent of God, and the dangers of treading the primrose way.

When Mr. Badman finally dies, he leaves this world "as secure, and as much at quiet, as if he had never sinned in all his life" (Badman 149). Throughout his life he has chosen folly over reason, blindness over sight, and enslavement to his lusts instead of freedom. As a result, "God gave him up now to a reprobate mind, to hardness and stupidity of Spirit" (Badman 159). At the thought of Badman's death, Wiseman returns to the groaning with which he began this woeful tale of Badman's life: "Oh! for a man to live in sin, and to goe out of the world without Repentance for it, is the saddest Judgement that can overtake a man" (Badman 150).

As has been demonstrated already, most of the differences between Mr. Badman and the picaresque are of little consequence. The most obvious distinction that can be made, though, is in Bunyan's use of dialogue to tell Badman's story. On closer analysis, one can see that instead of distancing Mr. Badman from the picaresque, the dialogue in fact places the work in the centre of the picaresque tradition. By utilizing both dialogue and didactic commentary, Bunyan successfully presents the life and death of a rogue. Ulrick Wicks insists that

> Mr. Badman is picaresque in its subject matter, tone, and attitude, but narratively it is on the periphery of the picaresque mode. The dialogue

> technique is not absent from the tradition, . . . but in Mr. Badman the picaro himself does not participate in the dialogue--in fact, he is already dead. The lack of a strong first-person narrative voice from the picaro himself prevents the work from being fully picaresque. Nonetheless, it is an important book in the development of English picaresques leading toward Defoe's Moll Flanders. (247)

Wicks's point about the lack of a first-person narrative in Mr. Badman is most appropriate. Although Mr. Wiseman and Mr. Attentive appear to be two distant observers, sitting under a tree, talking about the life and death of a reprobate, and reflecting upon the eternal significance of his actions, they are, for the most part, indistinguishable, and to a limited degree very close to the action. Forrest and Sharrock discuss the similarity of the two interlocutors:

> Certainly Attentive defers to Wiseman as a person of authority, but the fictional mechanism which utilizes him as the ignorant listener is sometimes in danger of breaking down because there is so

> little distinction of character between the two. (*Badman* xvi)

Mr. Wiseman's position as a familiar, yet distant, narrator enables Bunyan to make plain the Calvinist doctrines of election, reprobation, and sanctification to the reader. Bunyan's use of third-person narration equips him to avoid the danger of such reader identification that the reader forgets the moral application, a danger to which all first-person accounts are vulnerable. Because of Bunyan's artistic balance of narrative and exposition, one never sympathizes with Mr. Badman. He, instead, repels the reader, making him consider seriously the alternative to the primrose way. The religious didacticism throughout *Mr. Badman* reinforces its position within the tradition of the picaresque (Wicks 246).

In the same superficial manner as Bunyan's use of the dialogue separates *Mr. Badman* from the picaresque, so does the apparent lack of social satire. Rather than satirize the hypocrisy of society, however, Bunyan criticizes the hypocrisy of false "professors." Bunyan's satire is grim and foreboding, seeking to purify the church of its dross, and to urge the saints to pursue fervently their vocation. For the most part, the sins which rule and destroy Mr. Badman's life are the very ones which the saints ignore and tolerate in their own lives. To avoid the tyranny of sin, the saints need to be ever vigilant and watchful. One frightening aspect of the man who would rather go blind than give up womanizing is that he will certainly go blind morally, if not physically, and like Mr. Badman will not even realize his state.

Satirizing the foolish man's refusal to see the truth and act upon it, Mr. Badman shifts away from the "confident reliance on human values to the recognition of the essential weakness of human nature, which must be disciplined and conquered before any ideal can be attained" (Parker 22). Attentive asserts that original sin is the origin of all transgression: "The root is sin within; for from within, out of the heart of man proceedeth sin" (Badman 17). The sin of Badman's youth and early adulthood is destructive, and follows him into his marriage and life as a businessman and tradesman. He is a wild young man, the bridle of his lust is loose before him, and he is subjected wholly to his desires. Badman is enslaved to his appetite and is ruined because of his lack of restraint and discipline. Wiseman says, "his poverty came like one that travelleth, and his want like an armed man" (Badman 64). His degeneracy is heightened when he is forced to marry for money to clear away all the debts he has incurred in his debauchery. As an artist in dissembling, he recalls the holy and virtuous life his parents led and adopts their mannerisms to deceive a godly maid with a "good Portion" (Badman 66). His wicked deception of his wife is a deliberate and calculated outrage, and Wiseman castigates him for his hypocrisy and disregard for God's judgment:

> By this his doing, he shewed how little he feared God, and what little dread he had of his Judgments. For all this carriage, and all these words were by him premeditated evil, he knew he lyed, he knew he dissembled; yea, he knew that he made use of the name of God, of Religion, good Men, and good Books, but as a stalking-Horse, thereby the better to catch his game. In all this his glorious pretence of Religion, he was but a glorious painted Hypocrite, and hypocrisie is the highest sin that a poor carnal wretch can attain unto; it is also a sin that most dareth God, and that also bringeth the greater damnation. (Badman 68)

Once Badman marries, he casts off his veneer of faith and resumes his old life, much to the dismay of Attentive whose sympathies and compassion are for Mrs. Badman. Wiseman, however sympathetic he is for her, does not lighten his assessment of her situation: she should have received counsel from those more mature than she and should have discovered more about Badman's character before agreeing to marry him. Milton, one suspects, would not have been quite so hard on Mrs. Badman as Wiseman is, for even angels can be deceived by hypocrites: "For neither Man nor Angel can discern / Hypocrisy, the only evil that walks / Invisible, except to God alone" (Paradise Lost III: 682-684).

It is apparent early in Wiseman's account that Badman, who is diabolically successful in his duplicity, is no ordinary picaro; he is not a picaro born in poverty, is not concerned about personal honour, and has no desire for respectability. Like Falstaff, he is a composite of sin who is guilty of all transgression: "his whole Life and all his actions, went as it were to the making up one massie body of sin" (Badman 126-127). Since he never chooses good, except for his own ends, the times when God's grace is extended to Badman are fleeting. Because he is of the world, it receives him warmly:

> Rather than being traumatic, the evil man's movement from one society to the next is relatively easy. He is of the world and any group shares his characteristics. As a predator instead of a pilgrim, he is in his own milieu. Christian enters each group alert and ready to flee. Mr. Badman has little to fear but tedious reproofs from Christians since they will not corrupt,

> cheat, or physically assault him. Christian and Badman travel through the same world, but because of their differences in election and personality, those societies into which one is accepted, the other rejects. (Backscheider 6)

While Christian's election compels him to flee from the City of Destruction, Badman's wickedness constrains him to forsake his father's household, the custody of his first master, and to dismiss the stern rebuke he receives from his wife on her death bed. Wiseman describes Badman's response to her words:

> He did what he could to divert her talk, by throwing in other things; he also shewed some kind of pity to her now, and would ask her, What she would have? and with various kind of words put her out of her talk; so when she see that she was not regarded, she fetcht a deep sigh, and lay still. (Badman 142)

Badman's journey does not begin, as is typical with the picaresque, with what Hartveit describes as a "kind of violent encounter with the world, initiating a process in which the picaro is transformed from innocent victim to resourceful rogue" (15). It begins, instead, with a futile attempt to escape from the call of God, and signals the beginning of Badman's doleful harvest of the consequences of his sin. Badman continues to sin no matter the degree of God's dealings with him. Even while a child, he strongly resists the correction of his parents. Their counsel and reproof are a tiresome bondage to him and his inescapable descent into Hell is as sudden and as inevitable as death itself.

Badman is a picaro who yearns for freedom, but by rebelling against the call of God, he can only exult in an apparent liberty. He does not initiate action or take control of his destiny, but gradually becomes more enslaved to his lust. This process of greater imprisonment is exacerbated with each change in Badman's station. As most picaros, Badman is the servant of many masters, but his apprenticeship quickly degenerates into servitude. In a topsy-turvy subverting of the picaresque norm where the wicked master exploits the vulnerable apprentice, Badman spurns the good will his master proffers him by stealing from him. Wiseman explains how "Badmans Masters purse paid for his drunkenness":

> Sometimes he would sell off his Masters Goods, but keep the Money, that is when he could; also sometimes he would beguile his Master by taking out his Cashbox: and when he could do neither of

> these, he would convey away of his Masters wares, what he thought would be least missed, and send or carry them to such and such houses, where he knew they would be laid up to his use, and then appoint set times there, to meet and make merry with these fellowes. (Badman 47)

Badman's deliberate exchanging his good master for an evil is a new twist that Bunyan adds to the picaresque tradition.

Badman's wickedness compels him to run away from the godly master under whom he had been indentured. By apprenticing with a man as wicked as he, Badman experiences God's judgment:

> for a wicked man to be by the Providence of God, turned out of a good mans doors, into a wicked mans house to dwell, is a sign of the Anger of God. (Badman 57)

The two disagree and the wicked master beats Badman for his naughty doings, not to train him up in godliness, but because Badman's wickedness does not tend to his master's advantage:

> I will assure you, 'tis as I say. For you must know, that Badmans wayes suited not with his Masters gains. Could he have done as the Damsel that we read of

> Acts 16. did, to wit, fill his Masters Purse with his badness, he had certainly been his White-boy, but it was not so with young Badman; and therefore, though his Master and he did suit well enough in the main, yet in this and that point they differed. Young Badman was for neglecting of his Masters business, for going to the Whore-house, for beguiling of his Master, for attempting to debauch his Daughters, and the like: No marvel then if they disagreed in these points. Not so much for that his Master had an antipathy against the fact it self, for he could do so when he was an Apprentice; but for that his servant by his sin made spoil of his Commodities, &c. and so damnified his Master.
> (Badman 59)

The two remaining masters to whom Badman is subjugated are Sin and Death, and he is not able to cheat either.

Another remarkable variation on the picaresque theme that Bunyan effects in Mr. Badman is with Badman's parentage, social status, and motivation. Unlike most picaresque heroes, Mr. Badman comes from respectable stock. His parents are devout, not dissolute and successful enough to give him 200 pounds to set up his own business. The usual picaresque hero's lineage, in contrast, is sordid--the mother a whore and the father unknown. Badman completely disregards the nobility of his parents' lineage, striving to separate himself from it and to assume the Devil's legacy as his own. Wiseman explains how liars become married to the devil:

> That Soul therefore that telleth a known lie, has lien with, and conceived it by lying with the Devil, the only Father of lies. For a lie has only one Father and Mother, the Devil and the Heart. No marvel therefore if the hearts that hatch and bring forth Lies, be so much of complexion with the Devil. Yea, no marvel though God and Christ have so bent their Word against lyers: a lyer is weded to the Devil himself. (Badman 19)

In contrast, the line of Badman's parents reaches all the way back to Abel who "offered unto God a more excellent sacrifice than Cain" (Hebrews 11: 4). As well, it is the son, not the parents, who is associated with prostitution, another element of the picaresque which Bunyan subverts in Mr. Badman. Badman is not born into poverty; he is not concerned with personal honour, and he has no desire for respectability. Instead, he spends most of his life trying to shake himself free from the moral and spiritual constraints imposed upon him by God, his parents, and the community of saints.

Because the picaro is forced to survive in a cruel and hostile world without the support of friends, family, and career, he, or she must often resort to trickery, theft, and deception in order to survive. Badman, in contrast, has no such justification for his actions, and is the agent of his own downfall. As a dishonest apprentice, he steals from his master; as an irresponsible son, he wastes his father's good fortune; as a profligate husband, he disgracefully squanders his wife's dowry; and as a profiteering merchant, he breaks trust with his customers, using false weights and measures, charging twice, selling his commodities as dear as he can, and making "prey of his neighbours necessity" (Badman 111). With little concern, Badman "is always thrown back upon himself and his own inescapable loneliness" (Hartveit 9), a parodic expression of the "isolated man" who must make a pilgrimage to the Celestial City all by himself, if need be, and a composite satire of those false "professors" who will be as surely damned as Mr. Ignorant in The Pilgrim's Progress.

Badman's end contrasts with that of most picaros, for, while they quite often achieve their childhood dreams, he does not. He lives only to satisfy his lusts, but in return, they drive him to his death. The very thing he sought to please becomes the agent of his own undoing. His unrepentant death, though not unheard of in picaresque literature, is certainly not common. Most picaros convert after a life of sin, realizing the folly of their ways, and, as a result, provide their authors with moral justification for what he or she has written. Moll Flanders, in contrast to Badman, achieves her goal of becoming a "gentlewoman," that is a woman who is materially self-sufficient. Moll carefully explains what she means when she says as a young girl that she wants to be a gentlewoman:

> All this while, my good old nurse, Mrs. Mayoress, and all the rest of them, did not understand me at all, for they meant one sort of thing by the word "gentlewoman," and I meant quite another: for alas, all I understood by being a gentlewoman, was to be able to work for myself, and get enough to keep me without going to service, whereas they meant to live great and high, and I know not what. (Defoe 14)

Moll also lives long enough to enjoy life and die comfortably. Her world is no longer as antagonistic to her as it was in the beginning; she seems reconciled materially, socially, and spiritually, while Badman dies bereft and isolated, a braggadocio so full of himself that he has no room for the things of God and the needs of others. The precise nature of Badman's death is provided as the reward for the reader who stays the course, and there are numerous places in the narrative where Mr. Attentive tries unsuccessfully to return Mr. Wiseman to his account of Badman's life and, more importantly, death. Wiseman, however, remains resolute, faithfully drawing out the spiritual significance in each event of Mr. Badman's wicked life.

While most picaresque fictions provide the reader with much vicarious pleasure, describing in detail both the foreign and the distant, the lurid and the illegitimate, the pious Mr. Attentive has quite a different experience. Rather than being titillated while listening to an account of an arch sinner casually flouting the laws of God, Attentive is impatient to get to the end of the narrative. The way of sin is just not glamorous enough to captivate Attentive who has "tasted the good word of God, and the powers of the world to come" (Hebrews 6: 4). Parker explains the enjoyment peaceful people have in traditional picaresque fictions, reading about the lives of delinquents:

> the pleasure that law-abiding readers found in the delinquents of literature was not only the excitement of vicariously discarding a moral restraint; it could also be the

> vicarious easing of a social restraint.
> (Parker 18)

Badman is "free" to suffer the consequences of his course of life which Attentive, happily restrained by his conscience, the social conventions of his congregation, and the sovereignty of God, finds disgraceful.

Attentive waits to the end of Wiseman's narrative, not held in suspense by the exempla, judgment stories, or the account of Badman's life, but by the desire to see God vindicated and Badman justly punished. Parker writes of the dilemma which all writers of picaresque literature face when describing the temptations of their protagonists while warning their readers to shun wickedness:

> psychological plausibility requires the author to convey something of the attractiveness of sin in general--the nature, that is to say, of temptation --and the particular satisfaction his character gets, or thinks it gets, from committing sin. Because the character is not psychotic but an ordinary man, the truthful and honest account of how he falls deeper into sin cannot but be a temptation to anyone who reads it to enjoy transgression in imagination.
> (Parker 35)

That which tempts the picaro should be appealing to every man; it needs to be attractive, seductive, and alluring, or it will not be a temptation. The challenge which Bunyan faces is to appeal to an audience of the converted who are shocked and dismayed by Badman's insatiable lust for sin, and to attract an audience of the unconverted who might turn from the wicked ways.

Mr. Badman, then, as a picaresque fiction is a remarkable variation of the traditional design. Although it is similar to Mateo Alemán's in many ways, there is an essential difference that cannot be ignored. Bunyan's anti-hero is far too pathetic a creature to be picaresque. He sins in spite of all that he knows to be true and does not repent even though he has been given many opportunities. Like a prodigal son who has wasted his father's inheritance, Badman has nowhere to turn but home. Unlike the prodigal in the New Testament, however, Badman scorns his homecoming and dies in isolation, alienated from Him who loved him most.

CHAPTER SIX

THE FOUR LAST THINGS: *MR. BADMAN* AND THE POSTHUMOUS

The last of the six literary traditions to be related in this dissertation to *The Life and Death of Mr. Badman* is the "posthumous," or meditation upon the Four Last Things of Death, Judgment, Heaven, and Hell. While several meditations as such may be found, they are usually poetic; the only prose meditation on the Four Last Things that bears any resemblance to *Mr. Badman* is Robert Bolton's *Last and Learned Work* (1635). It is described as a "posthumous" by its printer George Miller:

> *Behold here a* Post-humous: *a Child brought into the world after the* Own-Father *was taken out of the world*. A Foster-Father *is thereupon required for it: but certenly more for custome, than need. Such was the Own-Father, as it is commendation enough for the Child to say*, This is the child of such a Father. *And such is the Child, as for its owne sake it will find good entertainment, though the Father of it were unknowne*.
>
> *A distinct narration of the life and death of the Author you have truly*

> and punctually (as becommeth such a narration) premised. (Bagshawe A_{5R})

While the term "posthumous" is "used generally of anything which appears after the death of the originator," it is sometimes used to refer to a book published after the death of its author (OED). Miller's use of "posthumous" in this sense predates the OED's reference to Hale's quotation in Rolle's Abridgment (1668). By publishing Bolton's "posthumous" with Bagshawe's The Life and Death of Mr. Bolton, Bolton's Funerall Notes Upon Justice Nichols, and Estwick's sermon, delivered at Bolton's funeral, Miller anticipates the structure and content of Mr. Badman which is both a spiritual biography of a deceased protagonist and a meditation within the context of a funeral oration upon the Four Last Things.

As a spiritual biography of a reprobate, Mr. Badman possesses many features of the "posthumous" as exemplified by Bolton's work. Wiseman traces Badman's life from childhood to death, trying valiantly to make sense of Badman's existence. Having consistently chosen sin over unrighteousness, Badman is free only to react to whatever befalls him. Without grace, he cannot act positively; being enslaved to his lust, his journey from this world to the next is purposeless. Badman's predestined reprobation is of little practical consequence here because he is morally culpable and is, therefore, responsible for his destiny.

A biography tracing one man's spiritual descent into Hell, Mr. Badman is a dialogue between two interlocutors who meditate upon the Four Last Things. Beginning with the tolling of Badman's funeral bell, the dialogue, narrative, and judgment stories woefully descant on the misery of unholy dying. The variety of deaths that occur in Mr. Badman are reminiscent of those in John Donne's apocalyptic sonnet "At the round earth's imagined corners" which raises the theological question of whether or not souls return to their bodies at the end of time. Donne catalogues a host of ways of dying by the enumeration of opposites. There are those who have died suddenly in multitudes by war and pestilence, those who have died singly by natural decay, those who have died by the will of others, and those who have died by law and fate:

> At the round earth's imagined corners, blow
> Your trumpets, angels and arise, arise
> From death, you numberless infinities
> Of souls, and to your scattered bodies go,
> All whom the flood did, and fire shall o'erthrow,
> All whom war, dearth, age, agues, tyrannies,
> Despair, law, chance, hath slain, and you whose eyes
> Shall behold God and never taste death's woe.
> But let them sleep, Lord, and me mourn a space,
> For if above all these my sins abound,

> 'Tis late to ask abundance of Thy grace
> When we are there; here on this lowly ground,
> Teach me how to repent; for that's as good
> As if Thou hadst sealed my pardon with Thy blood.
> (Donne 84)

In the sestet, Donne pleads for a delay of judgment that he might have time to learn how to repent. Throughout *Mr. Badman*, Bunyan cautions against the likelihood of an answer to such a prayer. Sinners are to be prepared for judgment at all times:

> *Let those then that are the Offspring or relations of such, who by their own sin, and the dreadfull Judgments of God, are made to become a sign*, (Deut. 16. 9, 10.) *having been swept, as dung, from off the face of the earth, beware, lest when Judgment knocks at their door, for their sins, as it did before at the door of their Pregenitors, it falls also with as heavy a stroak as on them that went before them: Lest, I say, they in that day, instead of finding mercy, find for their high, daring, and judgment-affronting-sins, Judgment without mercy*. (*Badman* 9)

Meditating upon death, Bunyan can think of nothing else but judgment. He recognizes that all in this world is not as it should be. Some people are punished justly for their sins, while others seem to get off scot free. The reality for Bunyan is that judgment will surely fall on everyone and that restitution will eventually be paid. After judgment comes a meditation upon Heaven and Hell. Rather than enumerate the terrors of damnation, Bunyan capitalizes on its threat. Similarly, in his treatment of Heaven, he prefers to dwell upon its promise, stressing, like Donne, that in this life immediate and total repentance is the "One Thing Needful."

Writers before and after Bunyan have written meditations on the Four Last Things and spiritual biographies of saints and sinners. Thomas More, William Bates, and Joseph Trapp in addition to Bolton and Bunyan have written such meditations, while John Foxe and Samuel Clarke have written numerous short biographies of saints. Judgment story collectors such as Thomas Beard and John Reynolds provide numerous examples of the fate awaiting reprobates, with Mr. Badman being the first extended biography of a reprobate. In Mr. Badman, Bunyan brings all these literary kinds together for the first time, and establishes the distinctive characteristics of a new genre which will be referred to as a "posthumous." The "posthumous," according to this definition, is a spiritual biography, tracing the life and death of a deceased saint or a sinner, meditating on death, judgment, Hell, and Heaven, and urging the reader to repent before the day of wrath.

As spiritual biography, Mr. Badman deals more with the actions and consequences of Badman's life than the development of his character. As a literary piece, spiritual biography promotes plot development, for that is what the observing author sees and knows, while spiritual autobiography fosters the psychologically realistic outpouring of personal experience. While weakening Mr. Badman's position as a precursor to the English novel, the lack of spiritual and psychological struggle within Mr. Badman is entirely appropriate. There is no wrestling whatsoever in his soul for he has no desire to do good. Regardless of the absence of psychological turmoil in Bunyan's portrayal of Mr. Badman, however, the reader can see into the depths of Badman's soul by looking to what he does and listening to what he says. The view that one's behaviour provides much evidence concerning one's salvation or damnation is stock:

> For every tree is known by his own fruit. For of thorns men do not gather figs, nor of a bramble bush gather they grapes. (Luke 6: 44)

From the evidence presented in the narrative, Badman is deservedly destined for Hell. The effect of the account of his life and death mirrors that of _Grace Abounding_, pronouncing a message of warning to the reprobate and mercy to the elect. Both signal man's sinfulness, need for grace, and the redemptive power of Christ's crucifixion, death, and resurrection.

The biography of Bolton and Bunyan's _Grace Abounding_ serve to establish the credibility of these popular preachers by asserting that they were redeemed from sin and death by Christ's sacrifice. Within very strict limits, Bagshawe establishes that Bolton was once a resolute sinner desperately needing rescue. He

> loved Stage-playes, _cards and dice, he was a horrible swearer and Sabbath-breaker_, and _boone-companion_, and was ever glad (as I have heard him say) of _Christmas-holy-dayes_, and marvellous melancholie when they were ended, he loved not goodnesse nor good men, and of all sorts of people, could not abide their company that were of a strict and holy conversation, such he would fetch within the compase of _Puritans_, thinking that by that lawlesse name he had deprived them _ipso facto_ both of learning and good religion. (Bagshawe 12)

The unconverted Bolton shares the same dislike for the people of God as Mr. Badman; unlike Badman, however, Bolton converts and his initial aversion to the saints is transformed into deep affection. Bagshawe has no intention of making public the private sins and indiscretions of the man he knows so well that he can assert

> our familiarity was such, that (alluding to that betweene Paul and Timothy) I may say, I knew his doctrine, manner of life, faith, charity, patience; and now will onely relate what I have heard and seen, wherein I will not exceed the bounds of modesty or truth. (Bagshawe 4)

This assumption that such personal familiarity with Bolton provides Bagshawe's biography with added indisputable authority is one that Mr. Wiseman makes of his knowledge of Mr. Badman; both biographers assert that they tell only that which they have seen and heard, or can attest to personally.

While Badman is rooted in the affairs of this world, comfortable and secure in his lust, Bolton and Christian are footloose, not residents of this world, but aliens walking in the way of holiness towards the Celestial City. Badman, in contrast, is like Mammon in Paradise Lost without a moment's notice of the kingdom of God:

> Mammon, the least erected Spirit that fell
> From Heav'n, for ev'n in Heav'n his looks and thoughts
> Were always downward bent, admiring more
> The riches of Heav'n's pavement, trodd'n Gold,
> Than aught divine or holy else enjoy'd
> In vision beatific. (PL I: 679-684)

Badman's eyes, too, are downward bent. Bolton, however, has his eyes opened, and is staggered by the power of God in judgment:

> The first newes he heard of God, was not by any soft and still voice, but in terrible tempests and thunder, the Lord running upon him as a gyant, taking him by the necke and shaking him to peeces, as he did Job; beating him to the very ground, as he did Paul, by laying before him the ugly visage of his sinnes, which lay so heavy upon him, as he roared for griefe of heart, and so affrighted him, as (I have heard him say) hee rose out of his bed in the night for very anguish of spirit. (Bagshawe 15-16)

Bolton is distressed beyond measure by the power of God, the conviction of sin causing him to consider seriously his position as a sinner. For Bagshawe, the process of Bolton's conversion is not as important as its comprehensive transformation of his character. Bolton's redemption sets him free from the bondage of sin to minister effectively to the pastoral needs of those around him. Bagshawe draws a parallel between Bolton and Luther:

> these grievous pangs in his spirituall birth produced two admirable effects in him (as well as in Luther) which many times ensue upon such hard labour; an invincible courage and resolution for the cause of God, in the which he feared no colours, nor the face or force of any; secondly, a singular dexterity in comforting afflicted and wounded spirits. (Bagshawe 16)

Because of his struggle to accept the call of God, Bolton emerges as a soldier of the Lord as courageous and compassionate as Great-heart. In spite of this strength, however, Bolton is a pastor who is well equipped to minister to the weak and feeble:

> And though in his manner of preaching he was a Sonne of thunder, yet unto bruised reeds and those that mourned in spirit,

> hee was as sweet a sonne of Consolation as ever I heard, and with a very tender and pitifull heart powred the oyl of mercy into their bleeding wounds. (Bagshawe 20)

One can imagine that Bunyan must have been as kind and gentle as Bolton, just as thunderous in the pulpit, and just as stalwart in his convictions.

Unlike Badman who dies alone "after he hath stunk out his time before his beholders" (Badman 4), Bolton dies reconciled to God and man, surrounded by those who love and respect him, flocking to him for the last of his counsel:

> to those that came to him he gave very godly and wise exhortations suting to their callings and conditions, for although his body was wasted with continuall fits, towards the Close of his life, yet his understanding and memory were as active and quick as in the time of his health. Hee encouraged the Ministers that came to him, to bee diligent and couragious in the worke of the Lord, and not to let their spirits faint or droupe for any affliction that should arise thereupon. To all that came to him, he bad them make sure of

> CHRIST, before they came to die, and to look upon the world as a lump of vanity. He thanked GOD for his wonderful mercy to him in pulling him out of hell, in sealing his Ministry with the conversion of many soules, which hee wholly ascribed to his glory. (Bagshawe 32)

While it is dangerous to single out the death-bed scene as the sole indication of one's position before God, Bagshawe uses Bolton's death as one more witness in a long line to testify to Bolton's godliness.

Bolton's holy death is prefaced by his holy life. Like Graceless--Christian's name in the City of Destruction--who is deeply unnerved by the message of judgment which he reads in the Book, that his city "will be burned with fire from Heaven," Bolton is virtually bowled over by the power of God. Everyone who embarks upon the pilgrimage to the Celestial City must understand that sin is nothing less than a transgression against the law of God. This is true for Bolton in The Life and Death of Mr. Bolton, Bunyan in Grace Abounding, and Christian and the pilgrims in The Pilgrim's Progress. In contrast to strict Calvinist doctrine, William James argues that "a form of regeneration by relaxing, by letting go, psychologically indistinguishable from the Lutheran justification by faith and the Wesleyan acceptance of free grace, is within the reach of persons who have no conviction of sin" (Varieties of Religious Experience 111). Both Bunyan and Calvin would disagree. Their understanding of the conversion experience includes a full awareness of one's sinful condition and an accurate appreciation of the wrath of God. In Grace Abounding and The Pilgrim's Progress, the conviction of sin and a fear of judgment are necessary first steps in a pilgrimage that leads from rebellion against God to salvation and sanctification. Bunyan's view of man's need for salvation and the wickedness of the human heart are difficult for twentieth-century readers to accept. Roger Sharrock explains that Bunyan's

> is a view of an absolute wickedness demanding an absolute punishment: or, to rephrase this, the belief in an absolute exclusion from the good which gives free rein to a totally wicked impulse; and yet this absolute sin is demonstrated in a recognizable, neutral social world. ("Facts and Problems" 15)

Such seemingly innocent pastimes as a game of cat and bell-ringing bring much anguish to Bunyan's soul for they divert him from his ever-pressing commission--the pursuit of holiness.

However, the denial of these few earthly pleasures results for Bunyan in the accumulation of eternal dividends, attesting to the sovereignty of God, man's sinful nature, and his need for mercy.

The process of conversion culminating in sanctification which is demonstrated throughout Bagshawe's biography of Bolton, Bunyan's autobiography, and Christian's allegorical experience in The Pilgrim's Progress, is represented also in Mr. Badman. Although its spiritual life is portrayed as the subverted one of a reprobate, it has the same didactic intent as the others. While Bunyan fails artistically to develop Badman into a well-rounded character, he succeeds theologically in creating a sinner who is "an amalgamation of realistic details, not a merely theoretical printing-out of the idea of an individual withheld by God from the possibility of salvation (election) prior to the creation of the human race" (Sharrock 17). From Bunyan's point of view, Wiseman's account Mr. Badman's life and death is of little intrinsic interest. It is merely an opportunity and a framework for an exposition on the nature and the types of sin and the Calvinist doctrine of reprobation. The narrative is a thin excuse for a sermon, and if considered as a descriptive and expository piece rather than as a narrative, the structure becomes clear, the appropriateness of the parts becomes unassailable, and the book turns out to be a very remarkable artistic success. Bunyan hits the mark for which he was aiming. Mr. Badman certainly is not a proto-novel, but a taxonomy of sin, arranged in order of the

"Ages of Man" (to what sins is a man likely to fall prey at different stages of life).

It is in the accounting of the reprobate's spiritual biography, progressing from the sins of childhood to those of adulthood, that the work becomes a serious meditation upon the Four Last Things of Death, Judgment, Hell, and Heaven. Of primary importance in such meditations is preparation before death for judgment. That is why it is fitting that Bolton's *Last and Learned Worke* should be published between Bagshawe's *The Life and Death of Mr. Bolton*, and Estwick's funeral sermon. The death of this godly man provides the pretext for a serious consideration of the judgment of God, the woe of eternal damnation, and the weal of an eternity in Paradise. Badman's death is far more grievous for he is eternally damned, making such a meditation a sober prospect. In the "Address to the Reader," prefacing Bolton's "posthumous," the writer W.G. explains how the reader may benefit from reading *Mr. Boltons Last and Learned Worke*:

> *Therein you may observe, how, on the one side he [Bolton] discovers the false means which most use; and how, on the other side he revealeth the* true meanes *that are of singular use to the end intended: yea, and how he inforceth the same with* reason upon reason *the better*

> *to demonstrate the equity of the point: how also he inferres all sorts of* Uses *thereupon, as*, Reprehension, Exhortation, Direction, *and*, Consolation: *and finally, how he takes occasion from thence of an exceeding large discourse upon* the foure last things, which (*to use his owne words*) have been ever holden very materiall and of speciall moment to make us (by Gods blessing) more humble, un-worldly, provident and prepared for the evill day. (Bagshawe A_{5v})

The effect of a meditation upon the Four Last Things is to keep the reader from becoming so proud that he forgets his place before God, becoming so enmeshed in the affairs of this world that death and judgment steal in unawares. Everyman's complaint, "O Death, thou comest when I had thee least in mind!" (Cawley 119), describes perfectly Badman's situation at his death. Wiseman asserts that "there was not any other alteration in him" (*Badman* 157). Badman, the reprobate, dies oblivious of death, judgment, Hell, or Heaven. Bunyan describes with sorrow the spectacle of Badman's improvident death:

> *At Funerals there does use to be Mourning and lamentation, but here also*

> *Mr.* Badman *differs from others; his Familiars cannot lament his departure, for they have not sence of his damnable state; they rather ring him, and sing him to Hell in the sleep of death, in which he goes thither. Good men count him no loss to the world, his place can well be without him, his loss is only his own, and 'tis too late for him to recover that dammage or loss by a Sea of bloody tears, could he shed them. Yea, God has said, he will laugh at his destruction, who then shall lament for him, saying, Ah! my brother. He was but a stinking Weed in his life; nor was he better at all in his death: such may well be thrown over the wall without sorrow, when once God has plucked them up by the roots in his wrath*. (*Badman* 4)

In this passage, Badman's familiars waste an opportunity to prepare themselves for their own deaths by ringing and singing their friend to Hell. They have no understanding of the sentence awaiting Badman or themselves.

While alive, Mr. Badman cared nothing for things eternal, consigning by default his destiny to the awful judgment of God. Likewise Badman's friends wasted their opportunity to meditate seriously on the Four Last Things, ignoring the thrust of Bunyan's and Bolton's message to prepare while alive for death. In the chapter subtitled "Preparation Before Death," Bolton makes plain the didactic purpose of his work as a whole. Before death, the happy man,

> which in the short summers day of his miserable and mortall life, gathers grace with an holy greediness, plies the noble trade of Christianity with resolution and undauntednesse of spirit, against the boisterous current and corruptions of the times, growes in godlinesse, GODs favour, and fruits of good life; purchases and preserves (though with the losse of all earthly delights) peace of conscience, one of the richest treasures and rarest jewels that ever illightened and made lightsome the heart of man in this world: I say that man, though never so contemptible in the eyes of the worldly-wise, though never so scornfully trod upon and overflowne by the tyranny and swelling pride of those ambitious self-flattering

> Gyants, who, like mighty winds, when they have blustered a while, breathe out into nought, shall most certainly upon his dying-bed meet with a glorious troupe of blessed Angels; ready and rejoycing to guard and conduct his departing Soule into his Masters joy. (Bolton 5-6)

Bolton's purpose in preparing men for death is central to the tradition of the "posthumous," providing these works with their moral justification. On one side, Bolton's work urges the reader to turn his eye of delight away from earthly treasure where corruption breeds, eating out the heart during the expectation of harvest and where an evil conscience attends, seizing upon the soul and sinking it to the lowest Hell. On the other side, Bolton wants all persons to mount their thoughts, raise their spirits, and bend their affections to things above which are

> as farre from diminution and decay, as the Soule from death; and can be no more corrupted or shaken, than the Seat and Omnipotency of God surprised. (Bolton 13)

Bolton's message is that we are to act as if each day were our last, so ordering our behaviour that we could in the confidence of grace stand before "that last and highest Tribunall" (Bolton 32).

Bolton impresses upon the reader the reality of the Day of Judgment, urging him to "let thy spirituall joy ever utterly over-weigh all humane miseries, and overtop incomparably all worldly-pleasures," spurning that earthly joy which feeds on the very garbage of Hell--filth and fashions, gaming and good-fellowship, revelling, and in our days "even roaring, lust and luxury, &c. and other such froth and fooleries" (Bolton 58-59). Bolton's message is not lost on Bunyan whose works _One Thing is Needful: or, Serious Meditations Upon the Four Last Things, Death, Judgment, and Heaven, Hell_ (1665) and _Mr. Badman_ bear enough similarities with Bagshawe's edition of _Mr. Boltons Last and Learned Worke_ (1632) to suggest that Bunyan was already familiar with Bolton. Forrest and Sharrock have made the initial connection between these three works, but they do not explain it fully, admitting as well that Bunyan does not follow Bolton's pattern completely:

> Badman's passing, of course, provides the occasion of the book, and it would seem that Bunyan initially exploits the _donnée_ of the situation he has contrived to align his work with another well-known kind of literary production. The circumstance that in "The Author to the

Reader" he propounds "four things" following closely upon his listing of "four things [which] are usual at great men's Funerals' suggests that he may very well have in mind the tradition of the posthumous, in which the "four last things," death, judgement, hell, and heaven, are seriously considered usually within the context of a funeral oration. Now it is perfectly true that the "four things" Bunyan lists are not the "four last things" of conventional formulation, but Badman as a whole does treat of the latter in detail. . . . Bunyan was clearly quite at home with the posthumous; he had in fact already made a unique contribution to the genre by writing in verse the estimable One Thing is Needful . . . which shows him to be wholly in sympathy with Bolton's stated didactic objectives. In Badman the same aims are pursued with unswerving dedication, and if in the process there are more animadversions on hell than on heaven, that is to be accounted for only by the sinful nature

> of his anti-hero. (Forrest and Sharrock xxix-xxx)

Bunyan succeeds in what he sets out to accomplish in *Mr. Badman*, using narrative fiction as an opportunity for sermonizing complete with moral exhortation, logical argument, colloquial language, detailed example, and homiletic rhetoric.

Bunyan urges the reader in both *Mr. Badman* and *One Thing Is Needful* to prepare for death. In "The Author to the Reader," Bunyan entreats him "*to forbear Quirking and Mocking, for that I say Mr*. Badman *is dead; but rather gravely enquire concerning thy self by the Word, whether thou art one of his Lineage or no*" (*Badman* 1). Bunyan admits that he does not know how many people his prose narrative "*will* kill *to Mr*. Badmans *course, and to make alive to the* Pilgrims Progress," accepting without dispute the Calvinist tenet that some will be offered grace and others will not (*Badman* 2). In *One Thing is Needful*, Bunyan expresses the same desire to turn people Heavenward:

> These lines I at this time present,
> To all that will them heed;
> Wherein I shew to what intent
> God saith, *Convert with speed*. (*MW* 6: 5-8)

The desire is the same here as in Mr. Badman, but Bunyan is less theologically concerned in the poem, leaving the paradoxes of free will and election for others to ponder.

For Bunyan the one thing needful to avoid damnation and eternity in Hell is the faith to convert and begin the pilgrimage to the Celestial City, leaving behind all earthly care and woe. For Bolton, faith is equally necessary for one's own salvation and the rescue of others:

> Expression of spirituall strength in the time of trouble from former heavenly store, is a notable meanes to move others to enter into the same good way, and grow greedy after grace; to draw and allure them, to the entertainment and exercise of those ordinances, and that One Necessary thing, which only can make them bold and unmoovable like Mount Zion in the day of adversity. (Bolton 19)

With the faith to obey the call of God, the believer can then live in confidence that death is not an invincible enemy, but a threshold to be passed over on the pilgrim's progress. Establishing the need for one to nurture faith, so that death and judgment can be approached in confidence, Bolton begins the meditation proper, drawing the reader's attention to death, the first of the Four Last Things:

> That, to die, is but to be once done; and if we erre in that one action, we are undone everlastingly. And therefore have thine end ever in thine eye. Let all our abilities, businesses, and whole being in this life; let all our thoughts, words, actions, referre to this one thing, which (as it shall be well or ill ended) is attended either with endlesse plagues, or pleasures; with eternity of flames or felicity. (Bolton 81)

The whole tradition of dying well buttresses these lines, and strengthens the message in Bunyan's poem where he describes Death "as a King Rampant and stout" (MW 6: 62) who puts all victors to flight. Bunyan's meditation on death is ghastly, forcing the reader to reflect solemnly upon it and consider the way of salvation:

> Those weapons and those instruments
> Of death, that others fright;
> Those dreadfull fears and discontents
> That brings on some that night;
>
> That never more shall have a day,
> Brings this man to that rest
> Which none can win but only they

Whom God hath call'd, and blest,

With the first fruits of saving grace,
With faith, hope, love, and fear
Him to offend. (*MW* 6: 222-232)

Bunyan believes the grace of God will bring the elect to that Sabbath-rest of faith in Christ where the power of sin and death is vanquished. Christ is "the man Death cannot kill" (246), and is the one who provides refuge following death. Bunyan meditates on death in *Mr. Badman* by contrasting the funeral pomp at great men's funerals and that at Badman's:

> *There is also usual at great mens Funerals, those Badges and Scutcheons of their honour, that they have received from their Ancestors, or have been thought worthy of for the deeds and exploits they have done in their life: And here Mr*. Badman *has his, but such as vary from all men of worth, but so much the more agreeing with the merit of his doings: They all have descended in state, he only as an abominable branch. His deserts are the deserts of sin, and therefore the Scutcheons of honour that he has, are only that he died without*

> *Honour, and at his end became a fool*. Thou shalt not be joyned with them in burial.--The seed of evil doers shall never be renowned.
>
> *The funeral pomp therefore of Mr*. Badman, *is to wear upon his Hearse the Badges of a dishonourable and wicked life; since his bones are full of the sins of his Youth, which shall lye down, as* Job *sayes, in the dust with him: nor is it fit that any should be his Attendants, now at his death, but such as with him conspired against their own souls in their life; persons whose transgressions have made them infamous to all that have or shall know what they have done*. (*Badman* 3)

This consideration of Badman's death and funeral affords Bunyan the opportunity to press home the point of Puritan casuistry--that one's daily conduct has eternal significance. Because death leads necessarily to judgment, one needs to pursue the way of holiness, suing for grace and redemption.

Judgment is the second of the Four Last Things to be meditated upon in Bolton's "posthumous" and Bunyan's *One Thing is Needful*, and judgment sets the sombre tone for *Mr.*

Badman. Because judgment follows death, Bolton exhorts his reader to "Enter into the way; which is called the way of holiness, Isa. 35. 8.7," continuing as a professor of the truth "and of the power of the Truth in Truth: (For otherwise, thou mayest be a Professor, and perish eternally)" (Bolton 89). At the Last Judgment, we shall be called to give an account of everything we have done in the flesh. Bolton's list is extensive:

> For every thought of thine heart, every word of thy mouth, every glance of thine eye, every moment of thy time, every ommissi[on] of any holy duty or good deed, every action thou hast undertaken, with all the circumstances thereof, every office thou hast borne, and the discharge of it in every point and particular: every company thou hast come into, and all thy behaviour there: every Sermon thou hast heard, every Sabbath thou hast spent, every motion of [the] Spirit which hath bin made unto thy soul, &c. (Bolton 89).

It is no wonder that Bolton calls his reader to prostrate himself before God's Mercy-Seat in adoration of His free grace, pleading for pardon, and avoiding all manner of sin. Bunyan is just as comprehensive in One Thing is Needful.

The Son will be the judge, "His Face is fill'd with gravity, / His tongue is like a Sword" (MW 6: 295-296). The living "Who made not him their Choice" (306) will run here and there at the sound of the trumpet. The Books will be opened:

> In which all Crimes are writ,
> All Vertues too, of Faith and Hope,
> Of Love: and every whit,
>
> Of all that Man hath done or said,
> Or did intend to do;
> Whether they sin'd, or were afraid,
> Evil to come into. (MW 6: 315-322)

Each sinner must appear in judgment before the bar with his conscience bearing witness against him, and the sentence will be so just that he can only say, "My sins have brought me to this plight, / I threw my self away" (353-354).

That everyone shall receive judgment according to his ways is central to Mr. Badman. Sharrock explains that

> Judgement literature and the folklore of judgements represent the dark side of the Providential thinking which frequently governed the seventeenth-century religious mind, much as belief in the physical pains of hell is an underside to reliance on heavenly joys

> offsetting for the just the pains of this world. (Sharrock 21)

The ultimate judgment, of course, in Mr. Badman is Badman's death "as quiet as a Lamb," reversing Attentive's expectation that the death of such a reprobate should be shocking and lurid. By subverting convention, Bunyan makes Badman's judgment unspeakable and unimaginable, for ultimately the horror of Hell is unknowable. Attentive's reaction to Wiseman's long awaited description of Badman's death is subdued and tempered with the sorrowful knowledge of judgment awaiting him. As Wiseman slowly approaches the death-bed scene, Attentive grows more insistent, attempting to draw out from Wiseman all the details of the events surrounding Badman's death. Acutely aware of the need to search diligently for signs of salvation, Attentive is certain that he knows what the indications of damnation are. Not willing to let Wiseman rest, Attentive progressively becomes more persistent and determined to get at what he perceives to be the truth:

> But pray Sir, what other sign have you, by which you can prove that Mr. Badman died in his sins, and so in a state of damnation? (Badman 155)
>
> Pray how was he when he drew near his end? for I perceive that what you say

> of him now, hath reference to him, and to his actions, at the beginning of his sickness? (156)
>
> But how was he, I say, when he was (as we say) at the graves mouth, within a step of death? when he saw, and knew, and could not but know, that shortly he must dye, and appear before the Judgment of God? (157)
>
> Pray how was he in his death? was Death strong upon him? or did he dye with ease, quietly? (157)

Wiseman has no qualms about answering Attentive's questions, but simply does not see any significance in the manner of Badman's death. What is important for him is the manner of Badman's life:

> The *Judgment [In the margin: "*How we must judge whether men dye well or no."] therefore that we make of the eternall condition of a man, must be gathered from another consideration: To wit, Did the man die in his sins? did he die in unbelief? did he die before he was born again? then he is gone to the Devil and

> hell, though he died never so quietly. Again, Was the man a good man? had he faith and holiness? was he a lover and a Worshipper of God by Christ according to his Word? Then he is gone to God and Heaven, how suddenly, or in what consternation of mind soever he died: But Mr. Badman was naught, his life was evil, his wayes were evil; evil to his end: he therefore went to Hell and to the Devil, how quietly soever he died. (Badman 157-158)[1]

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[1] While this issue would spark little interest in the twentieth century, it was a major concern for most of the seventeenth century. In a sermon preached in 1630, John Donne cautioned against putting too much stock in the manner of one's death: "Our criticall day is not the very day of our death: but the whole course of our life. I thanke him that prayes for me when the Bell tolles, but I thank him much more that Catechises mee, or preaches to mee, or instructs mee how to live. Fac hoc et vives, there's my securitie, the mouth of the Lord hath said it, doe this and thou shalt live: But though I doe it, yet I shall die too, die a bodily, a naturall death. But God never mentions, never seems to consider that death, the bodily, the naturall death. God doth not say, live well and thou shalt die well, that is, an easie, a quiet

Through Wiseman, Bunyan takes great pains to dispel the notion that the manner of one's death is evidence of the judgment one is to receive, confirming once again the tentativeness of the human condition. There are very few things that one can be certain of in this world, and as a result, the saint is urged to walk in faith, waiting in the hope that God will sometime make manifest His sovereignty.

Following a meditation upon judgment, the usual pattern of the Four Last Things is a contemplation upon Hell. Bolton does not devote much energy to a description of its

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death; But *live well here*, and thou shalt *live well for ever*. As the first part of a sentence peeces wel with the last, and never respects, never hearkens after the *parenthesis* that comes betweene, so doth a *good life* here flowe into an *eternall life*, without any consideration, what *manner* of *death* wee dye: But whether the *gate* of *my prison* be *opened* with an *oyld key* (by a gentle and *preparing sicknes*), *or* the gate bee *hewen downe* by a *violent death, or* the gate bee *burnt downe* by a *raging* and *frantique feaver*, a *gate into heaven* I *shall have*, for *from* the *Lord is the cause* of *my life*, and *with God the Lord* are the *issues of death*. And further wee cary not this *second acceptation* of the *words*, as this *issue of death* is *liberatio in morte, Gods care* that the *soule* be *safe*, what *agonies* soever the *body suffers* in the *houre* of *death*." ("Death's Duell" 275-276) horrors, choosing rather to deal with the loss of Heaven, arguing that

> a sensible and serious contemplation of that inestimable and unrecoverable losse, doth incomparably more afflict an understanding soule indeed, than all those punishments, tortures, and extremest sufferings of sense. (Bolton 95).

For Bolton, contemplating the loss of the presence of God and the endless pleasures of Paradise is more effective than visualizing the black fire of Hell. He refuses to enter into the dispute of whether Hell is material or metaphorical, concluding that it is infinitely horrible and insufferable beyond the reach of all human or angelic thought (Bolton 102). Bolton concludes his meditation upon Hell:

> Ah then, is it not a madnesse above admiration, and which may justly amaze both heaven and earth, and be a prodigious astonishment to all creatures that being reasonable creatures, having understanding like the Angels of GOD, eyes in your heads to fore-see the approaching wrath, hearts in your bodies that can tremble for the trouble of

> mind, as the leaves of the forrest that are shaken with the wind, consciences capable of unspeakable horrour, bodies and soules that can burne for ever in hell; and may (by taking lesse paines in the right way, than a drunkard, worldling, or other wicked men in the wayes of death and going to hell) escape everlasting paines: yet will sit heere still in the face of the Ministery with dead countenances, dull eares, and hard-hearts, as senselesse and unmooved, as the seates you sit on, the pillars you leane to, and the dead bodies you tread on, and never be said, (as they say) never warn'd, untill the fire of that infernall lake flame about your eares! (Bolton 104)

Bolton wants to move his reader with reason and sound judgment, not just affect him with visions of the suffering and torment of Hell. In One Thing Is Needful, Bunyan reverses the traditional order of the last two meditations by dealing with Heaven before concluding with Hell because his treatment of the latter is so much more successful than that of the former. Bunyan wishes that whoever reads his lines would soberly ponder what he has to say about those things touching eternity. He hopes to waken the sleepy sinner who "little thinks / What sorrows will abound" (MW 6: 815-816) when he is damned for his sins. Bunyan admits that Hell is beyond all thoughts a state "So fearfull, that none can relate / The pangs that there are born" (821-822); nevertheless, he does try, comparing Hell to the conventions of a burning lake, a hot furnace, a burning oven, and a sea of brimstone. The heat of Hell oppresses the hearts, its smoke blinding the eyes and choking the stomach. Bunyan declares that once the day of grace is done, this will be the fate of damned men, chiding them and saying that repentance has come too late, and "Mercy is fled and gone" (882). He likens Hell to a prison where God's lasting decree holds fast the locks and bars. As a pit, Hell is bottomless, "A Gulf of grief and woe" (936). He calls the conscience a slaughter-shop who "will be brib'd of none, / But gives to all their doul" (969-970). Bunyan ends his poem, contemplating eternity and compelling the reader to consider the torments of Hell for time out of mind.

The four things in Mr. Badman which Bunyan propounds to the consideration of Badman's friends are meditations primarily on Hell and the threat of eternal damnation. The first is an invitation for Badman's friends to consider that there is actually a Hell like the one of which Scripture speaks, remote from God and eternal life, where the guilty conscience never dies and where the wrath of God cannot be quenched. Asking rhetorical questions, Bunyan the preacher thunders home the point that Hell is a place prepared for the ungodly. The second meditation considers how one that is now a soul in sin would act if he or she were permitted to come hither again to dwell. "O! he would not, he would not," Bunyan explains, "the sixteenth of Luke insinuates it: yea Reason it self, awake, would abhorr it, and tremble at such a thought" (Badman 6). The third is a meditation upon a meditation. Bunyan asks the sinner to consider whether or not he would return to a life of debauchery and folly if he were given the opportunity to view the joys of Heaven[2] and the torments of Hell, in the process becoming convinced "that both Heaven and Hell, are such realities as by the Word they are declared to be." Again the answer is no, for "if belief of what thou sawest, remained with thee, thou wouldst eat Fire and Brimstone first" (Badman 6). And, finally, the fourth meditation is a consideration of the corporal punishment of sin:

> Suppose that there was amongst us such a Law, (and such a Magistrate to inflict the penalty,) That for every open wickedness committed by thee, so much of thy flesh should with burning Pincers be plucked from thy Bones: Wouldst thou

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[2] This is the only time that Bunyan touches upon Heaven in the whole of Mr. Badman.

> then go on in thy open way of Lying, Swearing, Drinking and Whoring, as thou with delight doest now? Surely, surely, No: The fear of the punishment would make thee forbear; yea, would make thee tremble, even then when thy lusts were powerful, to think what a punishment thou wast sure to sustain, so soon as the pleasure was over. (Badman 6-7)

Of course, deterrence works only in the hypothetical ideal of Bunyan's sermon rhetoric. In the real world of Mr. Badman, men sin in spite of all that they know to be true, right, and proper. England is flooded with evil because the hearts and minds of men are wicked, foolish, and desperate.

The last point in traditional meditation upon the Four Last Things is a serious consideration of Heaven. Bolton argues that the glory of Heaven is not fully revealed to men because God wants "to exercise in the meane time our faith, love, obedience, patience, &c" (Bolton 113). We are not to fall into the snare of carnal people who falsely feed their concept of Heaven with golden dreams and vain hopes without caring enough to prepare for Heaven by living a holy life:

> It is even as if one should busie himselfe much, and boast what he will do in New-England when he comes thither; and yet (poore man) he hath neither ship

> nor money, nor meanes, nor knowledge of the way, nor provision before-hand for his comfortable planting there. (Bolton 149)

Bolton's meditation upon Heaven does not attempt to lure people into the kingdom with detailed descriptions of streets of gold and mansions for all. He admits that since we cannot comprehend the whole of Heaven, we must be content to consider part. He concludes, however, with the observation that it is not the promise of riches which will compel the sober man to accept the call of God, but the knowledge that in Heaven we shall see Christ face to face (151). In One Thing Is Needful, Bunyan admits that even the most acute orators cannot relate the wonders of Heaven to their audiences (MW 6: 490-493).[3] It is a place of great beauty where the presence of God infuses all with eternal life and health and gladness (550-553). The Lord will answer every just demand, explaining how his attributes worked to save us, and this knowledge will "greatly raise our Melody, / And flow our heart with Grace" (568-569). We will see our godly friends, each one being filled to the brim with grace (750-757). Bunyan's treatment of Heaven in this poem is largely unsuccessful because he is unable to utilize his vigorous, colloquial writing style, and detailed descriptions. Consequently he reverses the order of the last two meditations, ending happily with some observations on Hell and the fate of reprobates like Mr. Badman.

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[3] Of course, this does not stop Bunyan from writing a wonderful description of Heaven based on the Book of Revelation at the end of The Pilgrim's Progress. See pages 158-60.

Mr. Badman, as Forrest and Sharrock assert in their introduction, "is a book extraordinarily hard to classify" (xxx); as a unique generic hybrid of popular seventeenth-century literary traditions, it is a spiritual biography of a sinner now deceased, and a meditation upon the Four Last Things. Using the literary kinds of the conduct-book, dialogue, *exemplum*, judgment-book, picaresque, and posthumous, Bunyan's work presents a vision of man's sinful nature to the reader. Although Wiseman has looked closely into the darkness of the human heart, his faith in the ultimate victory of good over evil is still sure, and that optimism undergirds his tale. Knowing fully the evil potential of the human heart, Wiseman is aware of the dangers awaiting those who expose its darkness, even though they do so with honesty and kindness. In "The Author to the Reader," Bunyan describes the dangers facing him as he displays Badman's wickedness to all the world:

> *I know 'tis ill pudling in the* Cockatrices *den, and that they run hazards that hunt the* Wild Boar. *The man also that writeth Mr*. Badmans *life,*

> *had need be fenced with a* Coat of Mail, *and with the Staffe of a Spear; for that his surviving friends will know what he doth: but I have adventured to do it, and to play, at this time at the hole of these Asps; if they bite, they bite; if they sting, they sting. Christ sends his* Lambs *in the midst of* Wolves, *not to do like them, but to suffer by them for bearing plain testimony against their bad deeds: But had one not need to walk with a Guard, and to have a Sentinel stand at ones door for this? Verily, the flesh would be glad of such help; yea, a spiritual man, could he tell how to get it*. Acts 23. *But I am stript naked of these, and yet am commanded to be faithful in my service for Christ. Well then, I have spoken what I have spoken, and now come on me what will*, Job 13.13. (*Badman* 5)

As example for all those who profess to follow Christ, Bunyan through his spokesman Mr. Wiseman challenges the reader to live well so that he may die well, and that the world may be transformed into a better place.

Criticizing the principles and values which are driving seventeenth-century Restoration England, Wiseman advocates a true and comprehensive espousal of Christianity, his account of Mr. Badman proclaiming hope and inspiration. Attentive, whose spirits had been lagging because of the wickedness that was destroying his country, parts from Mr. Wiseman truly affected by the tale. He prays for grace that he "*may neither live nor die as did Mr*. Badman," taking to heart Wiseman's message (*Badman* 169). Wiseman ends his story with an affirmation of faith in God and the human potential--in concert with the divine--for doing good. In *The Life and Death of Mr. Badman*, Bunyan has portrayed the darkness of the human heart, and has found its remedy through the grace of God that redeems and sanctifies the lives of ordinary men and women.

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